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ART. I.—A SCOTTISH FREE-LANCE: SIR ANDREW MELVILLE.

A SCION of a leading Scottish family was sent in 1637 to Prussia to learn German. He gave his tutor the slip to go a-soldiering in Poland; but, disappointed in this, he returned to Scotland, where he found his parents dead and his patrimony confiscated by creditors. Turning freebooter, he was captured and imprisoned by peasants. He next went to France, where he entered the army and underwent many dangers and privations. He then joined Charles II. in Scotland; fought at Worcester, and was sheltered by villagers till his wounds were healed, when he effected his escape to the Continent. Again in France, he commanded the Scottish body-guard of Cardinal de Retz. Thrown into prison, he was well nigh starved into abjuring Protestantism. Once more in the field, he was captured by Croats. He next served German princes, one of whom sent him to London to compliment Charles on the Restoration. He fought for Austria against the Turks, combatted the French at Treves, and after the peace of Nimeguen settled down as governor of a Hanoverian town. Yet strange to say, his autobiography, published in French at Amsterdam in 1704, a second edition appearing in the follow-

ing year, has never been reprinted, nor translated into English. One reason of this is that the author gives no pedigree, nor even his Christian name, information unnecessary at the time but of importance to posterity, so that he is indistinguishable among a host of homonyms; consequently the British Museum catalogue leaves a blank for the Christian name, and an exhaustive history of the family from which he sprang, while containing a letter addressed to him, was unable to trace his relationship, or even to identify him as the autobiographer.

When these missing links are supplied, when we further find that this soldier of fortune accompanied the future George I. on his first visit to England, and when we see when and where he ended his days, the *Mémoires de M. le Chevalier de Melvill* possesses a high degree of interest as depicting the life of a Scottish free-lance in the seventeenth century.

It is needless, after the *Leven and Melville Papers* (1843) and Sir William Fraser's *Melvilles of Melville and Leven* (1890) to go further back in the history of the family than to Sir John Melville of Raith, executed at Stirling in 1529.\* One, probably the youngest, of his nine sons was Captain David Melville of Newmills, who married Mary, daughter of James Balfour, of the Montquhonny family, by Margaret Balfour, heiress of Burghly. David was one of the garrison of Edinburgh Castle in 1570. Despatched by his nephew, Kirkaldy of the Grange, on an unsuccessful attempt to capture the Earl of Morton at Dalkeith, he was mortally wounded, died in the Castle, and was probably buried in St. Giles's churchyard, Kirkaldy delivering a funeral oration. He left a son, James, who married Isabel, daughter of John Dury by Marion Marjoribanks. James had a son John, who married Janet, daughter of William Kelly by Barbara Lauder. John had two sons. We do not even know the name of the elder, who as we shall see fought at Worcester and was transported to the Colonies. The younger, Andrew, our hero, was born in May 1621. This Newmills branch, which Douglas's *Baronage* does not take the trouble

\* I may, however, mention that there are four villages in Normandy called Melville, besides a Melville in Haute Marne.

to trace, must have been small lairds, yet, as we have seen, they intermarried with good families. John's mother descended from the Lundys, and his grandmother was a Balfour, while his wife descended from the Lauders, and was related to the Douglasses. John seems to have hoped for Court favour through her connections. Andrew, indeed, had an impression that, 'as long as there were Kings in Scotland, my ancestors filled important posts, but when James VI. went to England, my family, not following the Court, began to decline.' I cannot, however, discover that his grandfather or greatgrandfather held any high office, and his father, he tells us himself, was in 1624 living as a laird in easy circumstances. The brother-in-law, Kelly, however, was Chamberlain—probably a Sub-Chamberlain—to Charles I., and was unmarried, Janet being apparently his only heir; yet his office, so far from being lucrative, involved such expense that John Melville had repeatedly to assist him. Kelly died in his prime, with great expectations not realised, so that Melville had to satisfy the creditors partly out of his own means. He was glad, therefore, to be relieved of the cost of bringing up his youngest son by sending him, at thirteen years of age, to a kinswoman, who, after keeping him a few months, despatched him to Konigsberg to master the languages of Northern Europe. The knowledge of Dutch, German, and Polish thus acquired, proved, as we shall see, of essential service to him. Study, however, did not suit a lad already smitten with the love of arms, and enlisted by an officer who was recruiting for the King of Poland, Andrew gave his tutors the slip. But on reaching Poland he found that peace had been concluded, and though Ladislas IV. would gladly have accepted his services he resolved on returning to Scotland. Bad news awaited him there. His parents were dead, and creditors had seized on the property. His elder brother was already a Captain in Lord Gray's regiment of dragoons, and Gray promised Andrew the first vacant cornetcy. He was waiting for this when Charles I. gave himself up to the Scotch. 'Thereupon,' he says:—

'We had orders to be in readiness to march against the English as soon as hostilities could be commenced. I was preparing with alacrity when an

affair happened which upset all my plans, and which I am anxious to relate here in order that young men by reading it may learn what precautions they should take in time of war, especially when among people whom they have reason to distrust. There were in our regiment several unattached officers who, like me, were waiting for commissions. Their number being considerable, they were formed into a company, of which I was cornet; but as no pay was assigned us we helped ourselves wherever we were the strongest. The license we thus took raised all the peasants against us. Seeing that we suspected nothing, they secretly assembled, surprised us one night when asleep, and having seized our arms and horses, took us as prisoners to a castle three days journey from the spot where we were captured. We were compelled to go on foot, but what especially annoyed was seeing these peasants escorting us with our own arms and horses. What we felt in such circumstances may easily be imagined. We remained two months in that castle, exposed to all sorts of ill-usage, and not being accustomed to this, I know not what would have become of me if the hostess's chambermaid had not pitied my fate. There was fortunately something in my appearance which pleased her and induced her to pick me out from my comrades. She visited me every night as soon as her mistress was in bed, and always brought me food, of which I stood in great need. The girl was tall, a good figure, and very lively, and could sing well. This was more than enough to please a man of my age [22], and irrespective of my obligations to her it was not difficult for me to show affection for her. This made her actually fancy that I might marry her. She proposed this to me, promising me my liberty. Ardently as I longed for this, the price put upon it by this girl seemed to me worse than slavery. I did not think it well, however, to let her know my feeling, for fear of making her my enemy, so without committing myself I answered in such a way as to keep in her good graces. We were on these terms when the governor was ordered to release his prisoners. I, like my comrades, prepared to leave, but the girl objected, saying that I must fulfil the promise to marry her. Honour did not allow me to agree to what the girl demanded, but my conduct seemed very ungrateful. I stood firm, however, and was released, a friend being surety for me.'

It would be curious to know where this one-sided courtship took place, but Melville is as careless of names of places as of dates. Thus liberated, he rejoined the army, but to his disappointment the time passed not in fighting but in negotiating, and the King being at length given up to the English, Melville's regiment was disbanded. In 1647 he and his brother repaired to France. His brother, not liking the country or his prospects in it, went on to Venice. Andrew joined the infantry as a sergeant. He took part under Gassion, the pupil

of Gustavus Adolphus, in the siege of Lens, where he was severely wounded. Gassion being killed in this siege, Melville next served under Rantzau at the siege of Dixmude.

'I cannot,' he says, 'describe what we had to suffer during this campaign. Hunger and other privations did us more harm than the enemy whom we had to face.' Melville frankly relates that an empty purse, for pay was very irregular, drove him to an act of dishonesty. While he was roaming with a comrade in the outskirts of Dixmude, an officer riding past dropped his taffetas cloak trimmed with the silver lace then in fashion. They could not resist appropriating it, and though the officer, quickly discovering his loss, rode back and questioned them, they persisted that they had not seen the cloak. He disbelieved them, but resigned himself to the loss. 'Youth and penury are the only excuse, if they could excuse this.' Melville next took part in the siege of Yprès, under the famous Condé. Here a Scottish captain, Meffer (?), took an interest in him, promoted him to be ensign, and had he not himself been killed in the siege would probably have done more for him. Without pay, having to live by plunder, Melville and some comrades were captured on one of their marauding expeditions by Croats of the garrison of Armentières. To save themselves the trouble of guarding their prisoners, the Croats resolved on shooting them. Melville, knowing the language, heard their deliberations and apprised his comrades of their fate. Such were the hardships they had suffered that most of them accepted death without regret. Stripped of all but their shirts they were ranged along the wall of the house to which they had been taken. Each Croat had his appointed victim, but the musket of Melville's executioner missed fire. The Croat in a rage knocked him down with the butt-end, and was reloading when Melville, following the example of a comrade, leaped into a ditch or canal, and though fired at, managed to reach the other side. Here he had to force his way through a hawthorn hedge, which tore his shirt and lacerated his skin; but beyond the hedge was a wheatfield, and the corn was high enough to screen him. He was not a little afraid, however, of falling into the hands of

the peasants, who naturally killed stragglers in revenge for the depredations which they experienced. But he walked on to a village which proved to be deserted, entered a cottage, threw himself on some straw, had a refreshing sleep, found a sack which served as a garment, and resumed his march. He was soon captured by some German soldiers, but speaking their language well, was taken by them for a countryman engaged on the opposite side, and was conducted to headquarters, where Archduke Leopold ordered that he should be treated as a prisoner of war. As such he had to march to Lille, but on reaching the suburbs was so exhausted that he sat down by a wall and slept till evening. Admitted after some demur into the town, he was directed to a hospital on the ramparts, a building unutterably filthy and loathsome. The inmates, however, told him of an Irish mcnastery which showed great kindness to Irish soldiers. Next morning, accordingly, he repaired thither, enjoyed a substantial meal, and then went on to the Spanish camp. There he found an Irish regiment with a Scottish Colonel, Cascar, who knew of the position of the Melvilles in Scotland, clothed him, and admitted him to his table. Melville was pressed to join the Spanish army, but he was in hopes of being ransomed by the French. Disappointed in this, he helped to raise for the Duke of Lorraine a regiment which was to assist the Prince of Wales, the future Charles II., in rescuing his father.

Melville gives a vivid picture of the insubordination of these recruits—Scottish, Irish, German, and French. While on board a vessel off Embden his life was in constant peril, and nothing but his nerve saved him. He spent the summer of 1648 on the Isle of Borcom, drilling his company, mostly English and Irish. The execution of Charles I. caused the abandonment of the expedition, and the Duke of Lorraine thereupon offered the regiment to Spain, to be shipped for San Sebastian, but the officers rebelled and landed at Ostend. The Duke, who was at Brussels, had already received payment from Spain, but he could not help himself, and kept the regiment in his service. Pay, however, was in arrear, and Melville was despatched to Brussels to extract money. But

the Duke could not or would not pay up, and he at length handed over the regiment to Archduke Leopold, under whom the officers were willing to serve. By this time, desertions had reduced Melville's company to thirty men, other companies being still smaller. He took part in the unsuccessful siege of Guise, but in 1650, anxious to accompany Charles II. to Scotland, he repaired to Breda, where he was well received. The Archduke reluctantly released him from his engagement, writing to Charles in his favour, as also did the Duke of Lorraine. Tired of waiting at Ypres for an escort to Holland, especially as Charles was already in Scotland, Melville went alone and on foot to Bruges. The country was covered with soldiers and freebooters, but he went in a coarse dress, with his money in a belt fastened round his left arm, as though on account of a wound. He was searched, indeed, and his hat and shoes were taken from him, but he managed to reach Bruges. There he looked so destitute that lodgings were everywhere refused him, till an old woman, after scrutinizing him closely, agreed to take him in. He bespoke a good meal and bed, and, on her looking distrustful of his ability to pay, he took off his belt and showed her some gold coins. Next day he reached Rotterdam, where he joined a German Captain bound like himself for Scotland. The English fleet was scouring the North Sea, but a Scottish pilot engaged to make the passage, and enlisted a few sailors.

After eight days at sea they came in sight of the English fleet, but were unobserved or at any rate unmolested, and on the twelfth day landed at Montrose. Melville went to St. Johnstone [Perth], presented to Charles his two letters of recommendation, and was promised a commission. After waiting a fortnight he was sent to the Earl of Hamilton, who was raising troops in the north. He stayed five or six weeks and then went back to Charles to report progress. On the way he had to cross a ferry, and unable to make the ferryman hear, he fired a pistol. Thereupon the man came over, but told him he had killed his child. Melville could not believe that a pistol could carry so far, but on reaching the other side he saw the child dead in its mother's arms. He showed much

concern, and pacified the parents with money. He found Charles at Stirling, and marched with him to Worcester. There he was ordered to join the Earl of Derby, who was to raise a regiment in the Isle of Man, but Cromwell's army was closing in on Worcester, and he had to turn back to inform Charles of their advance.

The Battle of Worcester lasted from nine in the morning of the 3rd September, 1651, till eight at night. The Royalists had at first a slight advantage, but lost it, Melville says, by their own fault, were thrown into disorder, and were forced to retreat towards the town in a fashion much resembling flight :—

' We had sufficient reasons for believing that Cromwell would be satisfied with this, and would not risk his already wearied troops in the night by pursuing us into a town which sympathised with us. But we had to deal with a man well aware of his advantage and knowing how to make the most of it. He pursued us so hotly that confusion set in among our men, who began openly to flee. He pursued them pell-mell into the town.\* I as yet knew nothing of it, for I had followed the King, who was among the first who entered the town. On leaving him, I perceived what turn things were taking, and instead of going to have a wound in the arm dressed, I bade my orderly fetch my clothes from my lodgings and join me in the street. While waiting on horseback for him I heard a horseman order the townspeople to put lights in their windows. I imagined that these men were all of our side, and I began to shout like them. This made them look at me, and seeing my white badge they exclaimed that I was a royalist and advanced in order to capture me. I escaped into another street, where I found a troop which I rushed into the midst of, shouting "There is the enemy!" But in trying to avoid a lesser evil I fell into a greater. One of the officers of this troop, knowing that I was on the King's side, came towards us. I suspected nothing, otherwise I could easily have avoided him or else shot him with the pistol I had in my hand. With a stroke of his sword he pierced my saddle girths and made me fall from my horse. In a moment I was surrounded by several soldiers, who, each tugging at me in a different direction, would soon have stripped me,

\* In his letter to Speaker Lenthall Cromwell speaks of 'our men entering (the town) at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage.' Other contemporary accounts speak of thousands of prisoners being penned up in the cathedral, and of 'plucking lords, knights, and gentlemen from their lurking holes.' Melville's brother was perhaps one of these.

if a cornet, pitying me, had not come up and asked who I was. I told him I was an officer, and begged him not to allow me to be treated otherwise than as a prisoner of war. The good fellow, touched by my appeal, began to drive the soldiers off, but one of them, indignant at their prey being taken from them, exclaimed, "at any rate nobody shall benefit by it," and fired his pistol at my breast. I fell, weltering in my blood, which issued in streams from the wound, but I did not lose consciousness, for on the cornet, aghast at being the innocent cause of my misfortune, asking me whether I thought I could get over it, I replied that I believed I could if taken care of. Thereupon he made his servant raise me, helped to place me on a horse, and in this way took me out of the town to the foot of a hill, already in the enemy's possession.\* When in sight of a guard posted there, the cornet asked them to come down, as he had a prisoner to hand over to them. A sergeant then appeared. My generous protector hesitated at giving me up to him, but nobody else coming, he did so, and bidding him take good care of me, and promising to come and see me next day, he went away. The sergeant, assisted by a private, dragged me up the hill, and thought he had done enough by placing me on a gun carriage, where I passed the night without any attentions. Happily they had laid me on the wounded side, so that the blood flowed freely and did not coagulate. I was however parched with thirst, and nobody was charitable enough to relieve it, though I repeatedly begged for water and though there was a well quite near, from which I heard water at times being drawn, which increased my longing for it.'

Bate, in his *Elenchus Metuum*, speaks in a few lines of Latin of the scene in the town, of the victors striking, capturing, and vociferating, of the vanquished fleeing and supplicating, of the townspeople beseeching and lamenting, of the streets covered with the killed and wounded, of the latter imploring help or drawing their last breath; but how much more vividly we realise this when we read what befel a single man. Melville goes on to say:—

'As soon as it was daylight, the soldiers on guard came up to me. Some questioned me, but I was too weak to answer. Others stripped me of all that remained to me from the previous day, so that I was left naked, but one of those who had stripped me, touched with pity, covered me with a bit of blanket which he found there. In rendering me this service he noticed that my lips moved. This made him put his ear to my mouth, and

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\* Probably Redhill, just outside the gates, or perhaps Bunny Hill, mentioned by Bate.

I begged him in God's name to let me speak to an officer. The soldier was kind enough to go to the officer in command of the post, and the officer was good enough to come. I stretched out my hand, and drawing him to me as well as my weakness would allow, I thanked him for coming to see me, told him that I was an officer, and that being apparently at the point of death I was glad to see a kind man, as he seemed to be, and that I had one request to make, which was that he would send to a certain house in the town for a portmanteau I had left there, that it contained money and clothes which were quite at his service, but also papers which would be useless to him and which I begged him to send to my relatives. The officer went away without answering, but presently returned with some soldiers, who, placing me on pikes, carried me to a neighbouring cottage. The officer's attentions did not end there. He fetched a bed, on which he laid me, and sent for a surgeon, but none could be found, and in short he treated me like a beloved brother. I had not long, however, the good fortune of his presence. An hour after rendering me these services he was ordered elsewhere, and all he could do was to recommend me strongly to a poor woman living in the house, after which he took leave of me with marks of sincere regret. After he had gone the village was pillaged, my hostess's cottage not escaping this misfortune. Even the bed on which I was lying was taken from her, I being pitilessly dragged off and rolled into a trench dug for the foundations of a house. My mishaps did not end there. A dead man was thrown into the same spot, and his legs lying over me I could not stir. How long I remained in this plight I cannot say, for I soon fainted, but I doubt not it would have been for ever but for what I am about to relate. My hostess and her two daughters had been stripped by the soldiers, and while looking for some rags to cover them they perceived me in the trench. They recognised me, and as I had been strongly recommended to them they drew me out, and seeing some signs of life carried me indoors, laid me on straw, and covered me as well as they could. I do not know what restoratives these good women used, but consciousness soon returned. After telling them what had happened to me, and the result of the battle, I asked one of them to go to the town and inquire whether General Douglas was not among the prisoners.\* "If you learn that he is there," I said, "try and speak with him and inform him of my fate." The woman performed her mission cleverly. She learned that General Douglas was a prisoner, and had lost an eye, and discovering a

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\* Several Douglases seem to have been captured at Worcester. There was a Sir John Douglas, and also a James Douglas, Lord Mordington, who told his captors he had left a box of 115 'old double pieces' [doubloons?] with one Demetrius in Worcester, whereupon messengers were sent for it. *Cal. State Papers*, 1651. This shows that Melville was not alone in leaving his valuables in the town, its capture not being calculated upon.

means of speaking to him unobserved, she gave him my message. Douglas was a near relation on my mother's side, and my true friend. He was touched by my misfortunes, and secretly sent the same night a surgeon who continued visiting me at night for four or five weeks. One night he came with a countenance indicating what he had to tell me. He told me he had come for the last time, but as my wound was not yet healed he had brought me the wherewithal to dress it myself till it was well, that he was forced to accompany his master, who was about to be sent he knew not whither. As for the other prisoners, among whom was my brother, they had been condemned to the sugar and tobacco plantations of the West Indies.'

Melville remained more than three months in the cottage, two of the women begging for him from door to door, apparently in Worcester, while the third watched by him. One day while they were away, one of Cromwell's soldiers, peeping into the cottage, insisted on entering, and swore at him and his nurse; but on Melville's confession of being a Royalist soldier, and of having been in Holland, the man said he also had been there. They exchanged a few words in Dutch, and were presently the best of friends :—

'He began by telling me that at heart he was as good a Royalist as I, but that soldiers took sides as best they could, without thinking of anything but the pay, and that in proof of his sincerity he should be glad to serve me. Thereupon he sent the woman to buy some beer, that we might drink together, and he offered to divide his purse, containing some halfpence, with me. After staying a couple of hours in the cottage he left, promising to tell nobody of me.'

Could anything be more natural or charming than this episode? Macaulay says of Bunyan's swearing in boyhood, 'But a single admonition cured him of this bad habit for life, and the cure must have been wrought early, for at eighteen he was in the army of the Parliament, and if he had carried the vice of profaneness into that service he would doubtless have received something more than an admonition from Sergeant Bind-their-kings-in-chains, or Captain Hew-Agag-in-pieces-before-the-Lord.' But here we find a Cromwellian soldier swearing, and the mixture of brutality and kindness among his comrades bears out what worthy Thomas Fuller said at the time :—

'Think not that the King's army is like Sodom, not ten righteous men in it—no, not if righteous Lot himself be put into the number—and the other army like Zion, consisting all of saints. No, there be drunkards on both sides, and swearers on both sides, and whoremongers on both sides, pious on both sides and profane on both sides. Like Jeremiah's figs, those that are good are very good, and those that are bad are very bad, in both parties.\*

As soon as he was strong enough to walk Melville resolved on going to London, and by the advice of his kind hostesses he represented himself as a German tailor, probably assuming a German accent. The women wept, wished him God speed, and accompanied him a short distance. 'Providence sometimes,' remarks Melville, who is usually chary of reflections, 'puts noble and lofty principles in the minds of persons of the humblest rank.' One would have liked to hear that on re-visiting England, nine years afterwards, he found and rewarded his benefactresses, but he seems to have had a soldier's easy forgetfulness alike of benefits and injuries, and he does not even tell us whether he ever ascertained his brother's fate. He had to beg his way to London. While resting at the door of a tavern near the end of his journey, a lady in a fine carriage drove up. The footman questioned him, told his mistress what he had said, brought him sixpence from her, and arranged to meet him at a certain spot in London. In this way Melville secured cheap, but not very clean or respectable, lodgings. He went every day to the Thames to look for some Dutch ship which would give him a passage, and to talk with Dutch sailors. One day he there met, dressed like a sailor, an old Royalist comrade, by whose advice he called on a Melville kinsman, a Roundhead. The latter, on being satisfied of his identity, embraced him, sent out for good clothes, introduced him to his wife, and advanced him money for his passage. A third Royalist soldier was to join Melville and his friend, but whereas Melville pretended to speak nothing but Dutch, the third man was foolish enough to talk Scotch, whereupon he was arrested.

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\* *Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller*, edited by J. E. Bailey, 1891.

Landing at Rotterdam, Melville went on to Brussels, where Cascar, now Major-General of the Lorraine troops, welcomed him and promised him the first vacant Captaincy. Cascar took him to France, but failed to perform his promise, and his wife looked askance on the needy adventurer. When near Paris, therefore, Melville asked for dismissal, and entered the city alone, with money for only two days subsistence. Happily, as he imagined, he was recognised on the morrow by an ex-Captain of the Lorraine troops, who took him to an inn where some acquaintances were regaling themselves. Deep potations led to a quarrel, swords were drawn, and Melville was trying to make peace when the watch came up and seized the whole party. Melville was thrown into a cell, in company with Hamilton, a Scotchman who had come with him to Paris. Every morning a priest came to the prison to say mass, and a nun brought bread, the only food distributed. After a week's detention the two Scotchmen were interrogated, and were told they could be discharged on paying the jailor's fees. But they had no money, and two Jesuits offered to pay their fees on condition of their becoming Catholics. Threats and promises alternated, but the prisoners stood firm. At last the Jesuits ordered the nun to stop the supply of bread, and all that the good woman could do was occasionally, when unobserved, to throw into the cell just enough bread to keep off starvation. So at least Melville thought at the time, but his subsequent belief was that the Jesuits and the nun were in collusion, not intending to starve him to death but only to reduce him to a capitulation. Hamilton's constancy gave way, and Melville was taken to the cell to which he had been removed, to see the ample fare allowed him, but all was ineffectual, and Melville was at length released. He heard nothing more of Hamilton.

During Melville's incarceration the battle at St. Antoine's gate, on the 2nd July, 1652, had been fought, and on account of the ferment in Paris, Cardinal de Retz resolved on having a Scottish body-guard. Melville volunteered to join it, his sole duty being to escort the Cardinal in his drives. The Cardinal took a fancy to him, and on the head of the force re-

signing, promoted him to the post, his pay being thus doubled. But soon, on the young King's return to the city, Retz had to disband his guard. Schomberg, the future hero of the Boyne, who under the Duke of York (the future James II.), commanded the Scottish men-at-arms, then sent for him and despatched him to his winter quarters in Poitou. The country, however, had been devastated, the peasants were reduced to living on chestnuts, and but for game the soldiers would have well-nigh starved.

In 1656 Melville served under Turenne in the relief of Arras. He was next at Quesnoy, where, on a foraging expedition, he was captured by Croats, but his knowledge of Polish procured him an audience of the Colonel, who admitted him to his mess. Mistaken for an Irishman who had deserted, he narrowly escaped being shot, but he was exculpated and ransomed, and rejoined Schomberg. Seeing little prospect of promotion, however, he and a fellow Scot, Mollison, asked for their discharge and went to Konigsberg.

Here I may remark that though sometimes wounded, and though repeatedly disappointed in his hopes of advancement, Melville was never again subjected to privations. The interest of the narrative somewhat falls off. We hear more of battles and sieges, but less of picturesque and affecting incidents. I may therefore pass more rapidly over his military expeditions.

At Konigsberg, while Melville and Mollison were watching the men employed in erecting the citadel, they were introduced to Count Waldeck, who was serving under the Elector of Brandenburg, 'the Great Elector,' Frederick II.'s grandfather, in his alliance with Charles X. of Sweden. Melville's services were accepted by Waldeck, and under a Scottish Colonel—he met fellow-countrymen under every flag—he was employed in levying contributions. One town which closed its gates against him he entered at night through a sewer. While fighting against Casimir, King of Poland, before Warsaw, some Jews deluded him with stories of hidden treasure, and while he was away on one of these bootless quests the town which he should have been watching was entered by Cossacks in the Swedish service, who burnt the

Jewish synagogue, worshippers included, and captured some Polish ladies, whom they would have held to ransom had not the French Ambassador insisted on their release. Count Frederic Waldeck died, but recommended Melville to his brother, Josiah, who commissioned him to raise a cavalry regiment, and sent him to assist Charles X. in Holstein, against the Danes. Cromwell, however, as mediator, effected a peace between them. On returning to Germany Melville heard of Charles II.'s accession, and Waldeck, who had rendered Charles services in his exile, sent him to London to compliment him. Charles had not forgotten Melville, asked what had befallen him at Worcester, and assured him he should ever remember both Waldeck's services and his own, but there, to Melville's disappointment, the embassy ended.

The Emperor Leopold had applied for assistance to all the Princes of the Empire, and even to France also, to drive the Turks out of Hungary, and the Elector of Cologne commissioned Count Josiah to raise a regiment of infantry. The Count wished for Melville as Lieutenant-Colonel, especially as he himself had no experience of infantry, but the Elector had promised the post to someone else. Melville consequently agreed to be Major, but with the pay of Lieutenant-Colonel. His supplanter was ere long killed, and he then succeeded him. After passing the winter in Styria, Melville helped to storm Turkisken. He became Quartermaster-General of the Rhenish division, but a quarrel with the General in command, 'Count Holac,'—a spelling under which it is difficult to recognise Hohenlohe—soon led to his resignation, and but for Waldeck's entreaties he would have quitted the army, in lieu of resuming his former post. Fortunately he soon recovered Hohenlohe's good graces. He was assigned the recapture with 500 men of a position near Kanissa, and here is what passed:—

'I waited till night, and then leaving the town I detached a captain with fifty troopers with instructions to approach the enemy, but to retire as soon as he gave the alarm towards a demilune on my left. My design was to cut off the pursuers between their camp and this demilune, where I lay in ambush. On taking up my position I resolved, according to the advice of the Governor of the town, to put on my armour, but on donning my helmet I found it so cumbersome, especially as it prevented me from hear-

ing, that I took it off and gave it to one of my orderlies, who immediately stuck it on his own head. The captain gave the alarm as directed, but instead of retiring in the direction ordered he came at full gallop towards me, in great disorder, the Turks hotly pursuing him. Although I saw my whole plan foiled by this blunder, I did not let the Turks perceive this, and they were so disconcerted that after killing several I drove the rest back to their camp, and then withdrew in good order towards the town. On approaching it I heard a cry from the ramparts to advance. I supposed it to be an order to turn back towards the enemy, and without reflecting on the rashness of the step I advanced towards a troop of Janissaries who were pursuing me at some distance, and whom I could easily have avoided. My men, who reluctantly followed me, shamefully fled at the first onset and deserted me. I was left in the lurch with my orderly, and the Turks, imagining him to be the officer on account of the helmet, cut off his head, and taking no notice of me, retired. I was fortunate enough to withdraw unperceived, and to find a retired spot, where I passed the rest of the night. At daybreak I presented myself at the town gates, where I was joyfully welcomed, for the soldiers who had deserted me had reported, apparently to excuse their flight, that I had been killed.'

Melville witnessed the raising of the siege of Kanissa,\* the siege of Zrinevar by the Turks, and their passage of the Raab at St. Gothard, where entire regiments of the Imperialists, panic struck, allowed themselves to be slaughtered without resistance. 'They contented themselves with loud cries to the Blessed Virgin for help, but the clash of arms,' says Melville with grim irony, 'apparently prevented her from hearing them.' He does not mention the camels, which the Turks, as we know from other sources, had brought with them, nor does he speak of the famous Commander-in-Chief, Montecuculi.†

\* The Turks had held that town since 1600. The Imperialists hoped to reduce it by famine, and on 3 prisoners refusing even under torture to reveal its straits, they were killed, and offal only was found in their stomachs. The officers alone had flour, and horseflesh was the only meat. On the approach of large Turkish reinforcements, the siege was raised, June 1, 1664.

† Alike for the horrors and the romance of the campaign we must turn to Coligny-Saligny, a collateral descendant of the great Coligny. There we read of the river Raab at St. Gothard becoming in a moment a floating cemetery, no water visible, but only a mass of men, arms, and horses. The Imperialists, too weak to pursue the enemy, were busy in stripping the bodies in the river of their jewels and trappings. There too we read

In 1664 peace was concluded, and Melville, presented with a medal by the Emperor, had to conduct his regiment through Vienna and Bohemia back to Bonn. In Bohemia he had to be on his guard against attacks by the peasants, for though he allowed no pillage, he paid them nothing for his requisitions, but gave them drafts on the Elector of Cologne. The latter on his arrival at Bonn presented him with his portrait, set in diamonds, and offered him the governorship of that town on condition of turning Catholic. Declining this, Melville requested Waldeck to recommend him to George William, Duke of Hanover, who, resigning Hanover to his brother John Frederick, took possession of Celle, which had fallen to him by the death of his elder brother, Christian Louis. George William made him Governor of Celle, and refused him permission to accompany his old patrons, Waldeck and Mollison, to Venice, to fight once more against the Turks. Melville was at first chagrined at this, but when Waldeck died on the way was glad that he had been detained. A period of inactivity gave him an opportunity in 1667 of revisiting England:—

‘I found King Charles still very courteous and kind, but unable, as he himself naively told me, to do anything for those who had served and succoured him in adversity. It is true that those then most in favour at Court were those who had most contributed to his misfortunes. I admit that it was polite for him to do this, but the consideration shown them was no sufficient reason for paying mere empty compliments to men who had lost their fortunes and repeatedly risked their lives in his service; but it must be added that the good prince had no thought except for his mistresses.’

Despairing of employment in England, Melville returned to Celle, and in 1674 George William despatched him to help the Dutch against the French. The former were trying to recapture Treves, and Marshal Créquy endeavoured to relieve it. At Conzbruck the German cavalry fled in confusion at the first onset of the French, and Melville says:—

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of a Turkish cavalier challenging any Christian to single combat, a challenge accepted by the Chevalier de Lorfaine, who in the presence of both armies killed his antagonist.

'Deserted by my regiment I received 18 wounds, and as I had fallen, the French troops passed over me in their pursuit of the fugitives. When all had passed I tried to rise, but know not whether I should have succeeded had it not been for an officer of my regiment who, not having fled like the rest, had been wounded in the arm. He helped me as well as he could, and happily, when we did not know what direction to take, we saw an orderly on horseback, whom the officer recognised as in the service of a captain of my regiment. We immediately hailed him, and he dismounted, put me on his horse, with the officer's assistance, and they took me to a post across the river. I fell from the horse on arriving, loss of blood having weakened me, but my wounds were bound up with a piece of my shirt, a bottle of wine was held to my mouth, which I almost emptied at a draught, and in a moment I felt so strong that it seemed as if I had undergone nothing. . . . I was told at first that we had lost the day, but presently I was assured that we had won it.'

The fact was that the French, too eager in pursuit, had been outflanked, their camp had been captured, and the fugitives rallying, the French had been caught between two fires. Treves surrendered, and Melville continues:—

'Next day my wounds were dressed. They were more serious than I supposed, and I was told that my right hand was lamed for life, but in a month I was well enough to go to the Duke's headquarters and thence to Cologne to complete my cure.'

'Melville did well,' wrote the Duke to his wife, 'but his regiment was defeated.' At Celle in the winter he entirely recovered, and he served in the next campaign against the Swedes. His memoirs virtually end here, but in 1680 he was among the numerous auditors at a conference between Antony Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, and Joachim, general superintendent, a sort of bishop, on an eucharistic dispute which was then disturbing German Protestants. Duke Antony, who became a Catholic in 1710, seems to have had a more serious taste for theological controversy than the Electress Sophia, who thought it good sport to pit an heretical visitor against one of her chaplains, and who was herself so latitudinarian that she is said to have given her daughters no religious teaching till she knew the creed of their expectant husbands. In the winter of 1680 Melville accompanied to England her son, afterwards George I., then twenty years of age, destined to succeed not only his father as Duke of Calenberg,

but his uncle as Duke of Celle, and his distant cousin Anne as King of England. His mother, the Electress Sophia, told Lord Dartmouth that she was once 'likely' to have married her cousin Charles II., but she speaks less positively in her Memoirs, yet during the Civil Wars she was certainly looked upon as the most eligible match for Charles.\* She now apparently wished her son to marry the Princess Anne, and Anne was believed to be willing to accept him, but he was suddenly recalled by his father, who had arranged a marriage for him with his cousin Sophia Dorothea. She was the daughter of Eleanor d'Olbreuse, originally the mistress, and eventually the wife, of George William, Duke of Brunswick, his brother Ernest Augustus, Duke and afterwards Elector of Hanover, releasing him from his engagement not to marry, on condition that Sophia Dorothea, the only surviving child, should have no claim to the succession. Poor Sophia Dorothea's alleged intrigue with Königsmark and her thirty-two years of captivity are well known. Curiously enough, Prince George of Denmark had been one of her suitors. Sophia of Hanover was at first strongly opposed to the marriage, despising Sophia Dorothea for her low origin, and she wrote to her niece the Duchess of Orleans, 'It would have been an honour for her had I married her to my head valet;' but in September 1682 she withdrew her opposition. But to return to George and Melville in England. They went to Oxford in February 1681, when the prince was made a D.C.L., and Melville, oddly enough, an M.D. Melville was also knighted by Charles II., though Metcalfe's *Book of Knights* ignores him, just as the Oxford register (but not Anthony Wood) ignores his medical degree.

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\* Charles paid her attentions at Breda in 1650, and the Royalist refugees in Holland desired the match, as also did her mother, but Sophia suspected the penniless exile of having simply an eye to Lord Craven's large fortune, for she was Craven's favourite, and she consequently avoided Charles. Craven in 1688 was in command of the guard at Whitehall and was anxious to resist William of Orange's soldiers, who came up without warning to displace them; but James II. shrank from using force and went to bed that night under a Dutch guard which, he said, could treat him no worse than his own subjects had done.

In 1683 Melville obtained from Charles a long Latin diploma, which, without being in the form of a pedigree, gave his paternal and maternal descent for several generations, and recommended him to any foreign potentate to whom he might offer his services.\* He was apparently not then resigned to ending his days in the comparatively obscure post of Governor of Gifhorn, to which he had been appointed in 1677, or he may have found it necessary to silence contumelious remarks on his lineage. About this time he probably made the acquaintance of Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, second son of the first Earl of Dundonald. Implicated in the Ryehouse Plot, Cochrane fled to Holland, and he apparently visited Celle. In 1685 he took part in Argyle's rising, and from Amsterdam on the 23rd April he wrote to Melville, announcing the departure of the expedition, to be followed by Monmouth's landing in England. In this letter he speaks of James II. as an 'apostate Papist who had murdered his brother.' Officers were needed, and he desired Melville to acquaint fellow-countrymen in foreign service that they might be well provided for at home :—

'I dare not invite you [he added], although I am persuaded of your good affection to our cause, the weakness of your body disabling you for the field; but if you incline to come you shall carve out your own hand. . . . Do me the favour to put my humble service to General Shavott,\* and when you see your Prince give my duty to him. . . .

\* Chauvet (not Shavott) was a Huguenot refugee in Brunswick, who had been promoted over Melville's head, but whose capacity Melville frankly acknowledges. After campaigns in Portugal and the Palatinate he served the Duke of Brunswick from 1670 to 1693, when he became Field-Marshal in Saxony. He died at a great age in 1696.

Give my service and my son's to your good lady and children, and to Colonel Lamott, his lady and her sister. I pray God bless you for the kindness shown to me.'

How this document, endorsed 'Sir John Cochrane's letter to Sir Andrew Melville, 1685,' came among the Leven papers, it is not easy to understand. Sir William Fraser has printed it without having been able, as he kindly answered my inquiry,

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\* This is given in full in the *Historische Gemälde*, 1799, and is reprinted in the *Neues Vaterlandisches Archiv*, 1823.

to identify the recipient with the writer of the memoirs, or to trace his tolerably remote connection with the elder branch of the Melville family. One would scarcely have expected to find Melville thus sympathising with two rebellions, Argyle's and Monmouth's, against the Stuart dynasty, from which he had received a knighthood. The reference to his wife and children requires explanations. Baron Melville van Carnbee, the descendant of a branch of the family settled for some centuries in Holland, has been good enough to inform me, but without specifying authorities, that Melville was twice married, first to Nymphé de la Chevalerie (this looks like a fancy name, and suggests a camp follower), and secondly in 1666 to Elizabeth Christina von Medefourt-Beneken. By his second wife he had a son, George Ernest, born at Celle in 1668, and who in 1717 married Lucy von Staffhorsten. George Ernest had three sons and a daughter—one of the sons was probably the 'Ger. Melville,' who was an elder of the French church at Celle in 1723—but all died before their father, who expired at Celle in 1742. The daughter, Fraülein von Melville, was one of the two maids of honour to the Duchess Eleanor, her colleague being a Fraülein von Stafforsten, probably her cousin, and the Duchess in 1722 bequeathed each of them 4000 thalers. Sir Andrew had also a daughter, Charlotte Sophia Anna, who was born in 1670, and in 1690 married Alexander von Schulenberg-Blumberg, ultimately a lieutenant-general in the English army, and Governor of Stade, where he died in 1733. He was probably related to George I.'s mistress, the Duchess of Kendal. His wife predeceased him in 1724. The name of Melville thus became extinct in Germany in 1742. The memoirs, like the diploma, are entirely silent on Melville's marriages.

Pensioned off, as one may say, by his appointment as Governor of the small town of Gifhorn, he wrote his autobiography at the request of the Electress Sophia. The dedication to her, ostensibly written by the Amsterdam publisher, but probably by one of her courtiers, speaks of the book 'as containing instances of valour and courage worthy of a man who has had the honour of serving under princes of your

august house.' It also speaks of his pure and disinterested virtue, nearly always persecuted by blind Fortune, and of his 'ardent zeal for the true religion, to which he has been so much attached that neither promises nor threats have ever been able to shake his faith.' It is a pity that Melville wrote in French, for his French is very colourless, wholly wanting in individuality; but Sophia herself wrote her memoirs in that language, and our Queen Mary wrote to her likewise in French until told that Sophia would prefer English. 'I might have believed,' said Mary in excusing herself, 'that you had not forgotten English.'

Melville complains more than once of want of due appreciation, and he evidently deemed himself qualified for more important posts than were ever assigned him. It is impossible to say whether or not 'blind Fortune' denied him an opportunity of fully displaying his military abilities. He ought, with his varied experiences, to have been a shrewd judge of character, but his book contains few reflections. It is mostly a narrative without comment, but he may have written thus to please his patroness. The tranquility of which he speaks at the close of his work remained unbroken till his death in 1706. He was buried at Gifhorn, and as he had been for nearly thirty years its *drost* or governor, and *oberhauptmann* of the district, a monument was doubtless erected over his remains; but the church was burnt down in 1744.

J. G. ALGER.

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#### ART. II.—THE CANADIAN DOMINION AND AUSTRALIAN 'COMMONWEALTH.'

1. *Proceedings of the Colonial Conference, held at Ottawa, Canada, from 28th June to 9th July, 1894.* Ottawa, 1894.
2. *Parliamentary Procedure and Practice, with a Review of the Origin, Growth and Operation of Parliamentary Institutions in Canada.* By J. G. BOURINOT, C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L. 2nd edit. Montreal, 1894.

3. *Federal Government in Canada.* Johns Hopkins University Studies. By the same. Baltimore, U.S.A., 1889.
4. *Official Report of the National Australasian Convention Debates (with Draft of Commonwealth of Australia Bill.)* Sydney, N.S.W.. 1891.

THE Colonial Conference that was held at Ottawa in the Dominion of Canada, during the summer of 1894, gives us the best possible evidence that colonial statesmanship at the present time has a decided tendency, not towards isolation from the parent State and the establishment of independent nations, but rather towards placing the relations between Great Britain and her colonial possessions on a basis of community of interest. It is also quite certain that so important an assemblage of representatives of the scattered colonies of the Empire must more or less stimulate a deeper interest in the affairs of each other. It was for many reasons a happy idea that this second Colonial Conference—the first having been held in London seven years before—should have met at the political capital of the Canadian Dominion, which occupies a pre-eminent position among the colonial possessions on account of having been the first to carry out successfully a plan of colonial federation. The fact that the Parliament of the Federation was sitting at the time of the conference was a fortunate circumstance from which no doubt the Australasian and South African delegates derived not a little practical benefit. A Federal Parliament, composed of two Houses, in which seven provinces and a vast territory, extending over nearly three million and a quarter of square miles, were represented by upwards of three hundred members, was of itself an object lesson for colonies which still remain politically isolated from each other, and in a very little better position than that occupied by the Canadian provinces thirty years ago, when the Canadians recognised the necessity of close union for commercial and governmental purposes. It is true the federal idea has made some advance in Australasia. A Federal Council has been in existence for a few years for the purpose of enabling the Australian colonies to confer together on various questions of general import; but the experience of the eight years that have passed

since the first meeting of this Council has not been satisfactory in view of the want of co-operation of all the Australian dependencies, and of the very limited scope of its powers. The larger project of a federation, including the whole of the island-continent as well as New Zealand, was fully discussed three years ago in a convention of delegates from all the colonies of Australasia, and a Bill was drafted for the formation of a 'Commonwealth of Australia'; but the measure has not yet been discussed and adopted by the legislatures of the countries interested, although there is no doubt that the scheme is gaining ground among the people, and no great length of time will elapse before we shall see its realization. In South Africa, which has been well described as 'a congeries of British provinces in different stages of dependence, intermixed with protected territories and independent states,' the federal idea has necessarily taken no practical form, and is not likely to do so for many years to come, though something has been gained by the establishment of a customs union between some of the political divisions of a great country with enormous possibilities before it.

No doubt the Australasian and other delegates who visited Canada took away with them some well formed impressions of the value of federal union that will have some effect sooner or later upon the legislation of their respective countries. Travelling, as many of them did, over the Dominion, from the new and flourishing city of Vancouver on the Pacific coast to the ancient capital of Quebec on the St. Lawrence, and even to the old sea-port of Halifax on the Atlantic shores of the maritime provinces, they could not fail to be deeply interested by the great wealth of natural resources and the elements of national strength, which they saw in the rich mineral districts of British Columbia, in the fertile prairies of the North-West, in the cities, towns and agricultural settlements of the premier province of Ontario, in the enterprising and handsome city of Montreal, which illustrates the industrial and commercial enterprise of Canada above all other important centres of population, in the abundant fisheries and mines of the maritime provinces, and in the large facilities that are everywhere given for education, from the common school to the university. But the most instructive fact of Cana-

dian development, in the opinion of statesmen, would be undoubtedly the successful accomplishment of a federal union throughout a vast territory, reaching from ocean to ocean, embracing nearly one-half the Continent of America, inhabited by peoples speaking the languages and professing the religions of England and France, divided by nature into divisions where diverse interests had been created during the century that elapsed between the formation of their separate provincial governments and the establishment of confederation, which has brought them out of their political isolation and given a community of interest to the whole of British North America, except Newfoundland, which has stood selfishly aloof, and is now suffering under conditions of financial and commercial adversity and political embarrassment which could never have occurred had it years ago formed part of the Canadian Federation. Australasian statesmen, who desire to see the federal union of their respective colonies consummated before long, might well reflect that to them the task is much easier of accomplishment than has been the case with Canada, since Australia has not to encounter those national and sectional difficulties which from the outset have always perplexed and hampered Canadian public men.

But it is not the intention of the writer to dwell on this important assemblage of Colonial representatives. His object is to show in this Article some of the sources of the strength of the Canadian federal constitution as well as those elements of weakness which are inherent in every federal union, however carefully devised. Such a review should have some interest not only for Australasians who are halting in the way of federation, especially as it will include a criticism of some features of the constitution of the proposed 'Commonwealth,' but also for Englishmen anxious to study the evidences of colonial development throughout the Empire.

Briefly stated, the strength of the constitutional system of the Canadian Federation depends largely on the following actual conditions :

A permanent and non-elective Executive in the person of the reigning Sovereign of Great Britain who is represented by a Governor-General, appointed for five or six years by the Queen

in Council to preside over the administration of Canadian affairs, and consequently elevated above all popular and provincial influences that might tend to make him less respected and useful in his high position.

The existence of responsible or parliamentary government after the British model.

The careful enumeration of the respective powers of the federal and provincial governments, with the residuum of power expressly placed in the central or general government.

The placing of the appointment of all judges, federal and provincial, in the Dominion Government, and their removal only on the address of the two Houses of the Dominion Parliament, which address can only be passed after full inquiry by a committee into any charges formally laid against a judge.

The reference to the courts of all cases of constitutional conflict or doubt between the Dominion and the Provinces that may arise under the British North America Act of 1867.

These are the fundamental principles on which the security and unity of the federal union of Canada rest; and we shall now proceed to show briefly the reasons for this emphatic opinion.

Canadians have never raised a claim, as some of the Australian colonists have done, that they should be always consulted in the choice by the Sovereign of so important a public functionary as the Governor-General of the dependency. Nor have the Canadians ever demanded the privilege of electing from her own statesmen their Governor-General—a change that was actually pressed by some members of the Australian Convention in 1891. The elective principle has never been applied in the constitutional practice of Canada to administrative, executive, or judicial offices, despite her close neighbourhood to the United States, but has been confined, in accordance with the English system which obtains throughout the Empire, to representatives in parliament or in the municipal councils of the country. Consequently Canadians have been spared the excitement and expense that have followed the adoption of the elective principle in the United States, where the President of the nation, and the Governors of the forty-four States, are elected for short terms of office—the former for four, and the latter from one to four years. Removed

from all political influences, since he does not owe his appointment to Canadian party, exercising his executive powers under the advice of a constitutional ministry, who represent the majority in the legislature, representing what Bagehot called 'the dignified part of the constitution,' the Governor-General is able to evoke the respect and confidence of all classes of the people.

The constitution of Canada, which is known as the British North America Act of 1867, has only enlarged the area of the political sovereignty of the provinces, and given greater scope to their political energy, stimulated for years previously by the influence of responsible government. The federal constitution has left the provinces in the possession of the essential features of that local government which they had fairly won from the parent state since Acadia and Canada were wrested from France, and representative institutions were formally established throughout British North America. In every province there is a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Dominion Government, who in this respect occupies that relation to the provinces which was formerly held by the Imperial authorities. This officer is advised by an Executive Council chosen, as for forty years previously, from the majority of the House of Assembly, and only holding office while they retain the confidence of the people's representatives. In the majority of the provinces there is only one House—the elected Assembly. The legislative councils that existed before 1867 have been abolished in all the legislatures except those of Quebec and Nova Scotia, and in the latter the example of the majority will soon be followed. It is questionable, however, whether it would not have been wiser, in view of the too hasty legislation of such purely democratic bodies as the Lower Houses are becoming under the influence of an extended franchise—manhood franchise existing even in the great English province of Ontario—to have continued the English bicameral system, which even the republican neighbours of Canada have insisted on in every stage of their constitutional development as necessary to the legislative machinery of the nation and of every state of the Union. It would have been much better to have created an Upper House, which would be partly elected by the people, and partly appointed by the Crown,

which would be fairly representative of the wealth, industry and culture of the country, the last being insured by university representation. Such a House would, in the opinion of those who have watched the course and tendency of legislation since the abolition of these upper chambers, act more or less as legislative breakwaters against unsound legislation and chimerical schemes. As it was, however, these second chambers had lost ground in the public estimation through their very inherent weakness, representing, as they did too often, merely the favours of government and the demands of party, and hardly a word of dissent was heard against their abolition. No doubt economical considerations also largely prevailed when it was a question of doing away with these chambers. No doubt, too, when these bodies disappeared from the political constitutions of the provinces, importance was given to the suggestion that the veto given by the federal law to the Dominion Government over the legislation of the provinces did away to a large extent with the necessity for a legislative council, for its *raison d'être*, if we may so express it. But, in the practical working of the federal union, the vehement and persistent assertion of 'provincial rights,' and the general trend of the decisions of the courts to whom questions of jurisdiction have been referred, have tended rather to give a weight and power to the provincial communities that was not contemplated by the leading architects of the federal framework; certainly not by the late Sir John Macdonald, who believed in a strong central government dominating the legislation, and even the administration of the provinces whenever necessary for reasons of urgent Dominion policy. But the powers granted in express terms or by necessary implication to the provincial authorities, take so wide a range, and the several provincial governments, from the inception of the union, have been so assertive of what they consider their constitutional rights, that it has not been possible to minimise their position in the federation. The veto of the Dominion is now rarely exercised; in fact, only in cases where an Act is clearly unconstitutional on its face, and any attempt to interfere with provincial legislation on other ground than its unconstitutionality or illegality, would be strenuously resisted by a province. In view then of the position of the veto,

a subject to which we will again refer, it is to be regretted that there is not still in each of the provinces an influential Upper House, able from the nature of its constitution, and the character and ability of its *personnel*, to initiate legislation and exercise useful control over the acts of a Lower House now perfectly untrammelled, except by the Courts when its legislation comes before them in due course of law. The consequences of the present system must soon show themselves one way or the other. We admit that the fears we entertain may be proved to have no foundation as the union works itself out. On the face of it, however, there is a latent peril in a single chamber, elected under most democratic conditions, liable to fluctuations with every demonstration of the popular will, and left without that opportunity for calm, deliberate second thought that a second chamber of high character would give them at critical times.

In the constitution of the Dominion or Central Government, however, the British North America Act has adhered to the lines of the British system, since it provides for an advisory Council of the Governor-General, chosen from those members of the Privy Council of Canada who have the confidence of the House of Commons; for a Senate of about eighty members, appointed by the Crown from the different provinces; for a House of Commons of two hundred and fifteen \* members, elected by the people of the different sections on a basis of population, and on the condition that the number of members given to Quebec by the Constitutional Act shall not be disturbed. The growth of democratic principles is seen in the very liberal Dominion franchise, on the very threshold of manhood suffrage, with limitations of citizenship and residence. The members of the Senate must have a small qualification of personal and real property, and are appointed for life. The remarkably long tenure of power enjoyed by the Conservative party—twenty-three years, since 1867—has enabled it to fill the Upper House with a very large numerical majority of its own friends; and this fact, taken in connection with certain elements of weakness inherent in a

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\* In the next Parliament the number will be 213, on account of a recent readjustment of representation based on the last census.

chamber which has none of the ancient privileges or prestige of a House of Lords, long associated with the names of great statesmen and the memorable events of English history, has in the course of years created an agitation among the Liberal party for radical changes in its constitution which will bring it more in harmony with the people, give it a more representative character, and at the same time increase its usefulness. This agitation has even proceeded so far as to demand the abolition of the House, but it is questionable if this radical movement is sustained to any extent by the intelligence of the country. On the contrary, public opinion, so far as it has manifested itself, favours the continuation of a second chamber on conditions of larger usefulness in preference to giving complete freedom to the democratic tendencies of an elective body—tendencies, not so apparent at present, but likely to show themselves with the influx of a larger foreign population and the influences of universal suffrage. The Senate, as at present composed, contains many men of ability, and cannot be said to display a spirit of faction despite its preponderance of one party, while for two years back its leaders have seen the necessity of initiating in this chamber a large number of important public measures. The movement for a remodelling of the Senate, however, has not yet taken any definite shape, and is not likely to do so as long as the present Conservative Government remains in power, although the writer is one of those who believe that it ought soon to be strengthened by giving it a more representative character on some such plan as has been suggested in the case of legislative councils in the provinces. Of course no constitutional changes can be made in the body except on an address of the two Houses to the Crown in Parliament.

With experiences of the Canadian Senate and their own legislative councils before them, the framers of the proposed Australian federation have followed the example of the United States and provided for a Senate whose members are elected for six years by the legislatures of the colonies, or parliaments of the Australian States, as they are more ambitiously called in the Bill. The constitutional provisions that govern the House of Lords and Canadian Senate, with respect to the initiation or amendment of taxation, and annual Appropriation Bills are fully

recognised in the Australian draft. Some enlargement of power is, however, given to the proposed Australian Senate in the case of Money Bills, and it is permitted at any stage to return any proposed law, which they may not amend, with a message requesting the omission or amendment of any items or provisions therein. This practice appears to have been followed for some years in South Australia, but in introducing it into their proposed constitution the Convention was very much influenced by a hope that it would give the Upper House larger power and give it some resemblance to the Senate of the United States. But they have forgotten that that great body has long wielded the three elements of authority—executive, legislative and judicial. It goes into executive session on treaties and appointments made by the President, acts as a court of impeachment for the President and high functionaries, and exercises the supreme legislative power of directly amending Money Bills. Until the popular assemblies in Australia are able or willing to give such sovereign powers to an Upper House, it is idle to talk of comparisons with the Senate of the United States.

No doubt the members of the Australian Convention hope that a Senate with a longer tenure of power and an indirect method of popular election, will be to a considerable degree more conservative in its legislation than a more democratic Lower House elected on a short term of three years—one more than the House of Representatives of Congress, and two less than the House of Commons of Canada. Of course some of the Australian colonies have had experience of an elective Upper House, and it is somewhat curious that while they are not prepared to adopt the old system in its entirety in their proposed federal union, the Canadians have returned to an appointed House as preferable to the one they had before 1867,—even so thorough a Radical as the late George Brown, then leader of the Liberal party, earnestly urging the change in the Quebec Convention. When we consider the character of the agitation against Upper Houses, we see that, in the nature of things, Democracy is ever striving to remove what it considers barriers in the way of its power and will. An Upper House, under modern political conditions, is likely to be unpopular with the radical and socialistic

elements of society unless it is elective. As the Australians are obviously admirers of the American federal constitution, from which they copy the constitution of their Upper Chamber, we direct their attention to the fact that an agitation has already commenced in the United States, and indeed has made much headway, to change the present indirect method of electing Senators, and to give their election directly to the people. It says something, however, for the Conservative and English instincts of the Australians that they have not yielded to the full demands of democracy, but have recognised the necessity of an Upper House in any safe system of her Parliamentary Government.

We see, accordingly, in the central and provincial constitutions of Canada the leading principles of the British system—a permanent executive, responsible ministers, and a parliament or legislature, following directly the British model of two Houses in the central government, but varying from all other countries of English institutions in the majority of the provinces. In the enumeration of the legislative powers given to the Dominion and provincial legislatures, an effort was made to avoid the conflicts of jurisdiction that so frequently arose between the national and State governments of the Federal Republic. In the first place, we have a recapitulation of those general or national powers that properly belong to a central authority. On the other hand, the provinces have retained control over municipal institutions, property, and civil rights, and generally 'all matters of a merely local or private nature in the province.' It will be remembered that the national or general Government of the United States is alone one of enumerated powers, whilst the several States have expressly reserved to them the residuum of power not in express terms or by necessary implication taken away from them. In their anxiety to avoid the sectional and State difficulties that arose from these very general provisions, and to strengthen by constitutional enactment the central Government of the Dominion, the framers of the British North America Act placed the residuary power in the Parliament of Canada.

But despite the earnest efforts made by the Canadians to prevent troublesome questions of jurisdiction too constantly arising

between the general and provincial Governments, the Courts have been steadily occupied for a quarter of a century in adjusting the numerous constitutional disputes that have arisen in due course of law under the Union Act. Discussions are frequently arising in the legislative bodies on the varied interpretation that can be given to the constitution on these very points of constitutional procedure and jurisdiction which the framers of the Federal Union thought they had enumerated with great care. But it is in this very reference to the Courts that the strength of a written instrument of a Federal Government lies. In Canada, as in all other countries inheriting English law, there is that great respect for the judiciary which enables the people to accept its decisions, when they would look with suspicion on the Acts of purely political bodies.

Cases involving constitutional questions may be tried in any of the Courts of the provinces, with the right of appeal to the federal Supreme Court, and finally, under certain limitations, to the British Privy Council. The judgments of the Judicial Committee have been always received with the respect due to the learning of so high a Court, and on the whole have given satisfaction, though there have been occasions when the lay, and even the legal, mind has been a little perplexed by somewhat contradictory decisions, apparently arising from the difficulty of some of the judges to comprehend what are largely provincial issues. The tendency of the judgments of the Courts has been decidedly towards strengthening the provincial entities, and minimising to a certain extent the powers of the central authorities. For instance, the Judicial Committee has gone so far as to lay it down most emphatically—

'That when the Imperial Parliament gave the provincial legislatures exclusive authority to make laws on certain subjects enumerated in the Act of Union, it conferred powers not in any sense to be exercised by delegation from, or as agents of, the Imperial Parliament, but authority as plenary and as ample within the limits prescribed by the section (92) as the Imperial Parliament, in the plenitude of its power, possesses or could bestow.'

It is a question whether the Judicial Committee, however ably constituted, would not find its usefulness increased by the

membership of a great colonial lawyer, who would bring to his duties not only legal acumen and judicial fairness, but a comprehension of the nature and methods of government which one does not expect from a European judge, who acts within the narrow path traced for him by ordinary statutes.\* As long as the imperial court is composed of men of the highest learning, and it is very rarely this is not the case, it is a positive advantage to the people of Canada, and of all the other dependencies of the Crown, to have its independent decision on constitutional questions of moment. In the Australian Convention, doubts were expressed as to the necessity of this reference when the new federation will have a supreme court of its own, but it would be a serious mistake to ask the Crown to give up entirely the exercise of a prerogative so clearly in the interests of the Empire at large. To quote the apt words of Sir Henry Wrixon :—

‘At present it is one of the noblest characteristics of our empire that over the whole of its vast area, every subject, whether he be black or white, has a right of appeal to his Sovereign. That is a grand link for the whole of the British Empire. But it is more than that. It is not, as might be considered, a mere question of sentiment, although I may say that sentiment goes far to make up the life of nations. It is not merely that ; but the unity of final decision preserves a unity of law over the whole Empire.’

The words we have given in italics are unanswerable, and it is unfortunate, we think, such arguments did not prevail in the convention to the fullest extent. That body, in this as in other matters, appears to have been largely influenced by a desire to make Australia independent of England as far as practicable, and the majority were only at the last persuaded to adopt a clause providing for a modified reference to the Queen in Council of cases ‘in which the public interests of the commonwealth or of any state, or any other part of the Queen’s dominions are concerned.’ We hope, however, before the constitution is finally adopted, all the limitations on the exercise of this royal prerogative in the dependency will be removed.

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\* Professor Bryce in *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I., p. 339 (1st Edition). See also his remarks on the two literal constructions placed at times on the B.N.A. Act by the Judicial Committee. *Ibid.* P. 509.

When we consider the influence of the courts on the Canadian federal union we can see the wisdom of the provision which places the appointment, payment and removal of the federal as well as provincial judges in the hands of the Dominion Government. It may be said, indeed, that by their appointment and permanency of tenure, all the judges of Canada are practically federal, though the organisation of the provincial courts rests with the provincial governments. The consequence is the provincial judges are removed from all the influences that might weaken them were they mere provincial appointments. In the United States the constitution provides for federal judges, who are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. At the present time out of the forty-four states thirty elect the judges and the officers of the courts by a popular vote. The federal judiciary has always held a far higher position in the estimation of the intelligence of the country than the elective judiciary of the States since the mode of appointment, permanency of tenure, and larger scope of duties have attracted the best legal talent. It is admitted by American thinkers and publicists, who are not politicians but can speak their honest opinion, that the system has been most unfavourable to the selection of men of the best ability, and the exhibition of courage and fidelity in the discharge of their important functions. Judicial decisions have been wanting in consistency, and constantly fluctuating and feeble. Men of inferior reputation have been able, by means of political intrigue and most unprofessional conduct, to obtain seats on the bench. Confidence in the impartiality of judges is sensibly lessened when it is the party machine that elects, and professional character and learning count for comparatively little. If the interpretation of the constitution had depended exclusively on this state judiciary, the results would have been probably most unfavourable to the stability of the Union itself, but, happily for its best interests, the men who framed the fundamental law of the republic wisely provided for federal judges, removed from the corrupt and degrading influences of election contests, and made them the chief legal exponents of the written instrument of government.

It is therefore a happy circumstance for Canada that all its

judges are entirely independent of political influences, as well as of the fluctuating conditions of a narrow range of provincialism. As exponents of the constitution the Dominion judiciary has greater elements of strength than the judiciary of the United States, since it is federal from a most important point of view, while that of the latter country is divided between nation and states. In another respect the Canadian government has made a step in advance of their neighbours, with the view of obtaining a reasoned opinion from the higher courts in cases of legal doubt and controversy between the central and provincial governments, and between the provinces themselves. The Governor in Council may refer to the supreme court for hearing and argument, important questions of law or fact touching provincial legislation or any other constitutional matter, and the opinion of the court, although advisory only, is, for all purposes of appeal to Her Majesty in Council, treated as a final judgment between the parties. No such provision exists in the case of the federal judiciary at Washington, which can be called upon only to decide controversies brought before it in a legal form, and is therefore bound to abstain from an extra-judicial opinion upon points of law, even though solemnly requested by the executive. A similar provision exists in Ontario for a reference to the provincial courts, and the question may be fully argued, a provision that does not exist in the few states of the federal republic, where the legislative department has been empowered to call upon the judges for their opinion upon the constitutional validity of a proposed law.

We have dwelt at some length on these carefully devised methods of obtaining a judicial and reasoned opinion on cases of constitutional controversy with the view of showing that they are recognised as the best means of arriving at a satisfactory solution of legal difficulties that cannot be settled on the political arena. The necessity of making the courts in every way possible the arbiters in such cases is clearly shown by the history of the veto given by the British North American Act to the Government of the Dominion over the legislation of the provinces. From its history so far, it is clear that the exercise of this power is viewed with great jealousy and may at any moment

lead to serious complications by creating antagonisms of much gravity between the central and provincial governments. It is now, however, becoming a convention of the constitution that the Dominion authorities should not interfere with any provincial legislation that does not infringe the fundamental law; that the only possible excuse for such interference would be the case of legislation clearly illegal or unconstitutional, on the face of it, unjust to any class or section of the people, or dangerous to the security and integrity of the Dominion or of the Empire. It is now deemed the wisest policy to leave as far as possible all questions of constitutional controversy to the action of the courts by the methods that the law, as we have already shown, provide to meet just such emergencies. In ordinary cases, however, where there is an undoubted conflict with powers belonging to the central government, where the province has stepped beyond its constitutional authority, the veto continues to be exercised with much convenience to all the parties interested. It must be admitted that on the whole the authorities of the Dominion have exercised this sovereign power with discretion, but it must be admitted that it may be at any time a dangerous weapon in the hands of an unscrupulous and reckless central administration when in direct antagonism to a provincial government, and it can hardly be considered one of the elements of strength, but rather a latent source of weakness, in the federal structure.

No doubt the experience of the Canadians in the exercise of the veto power, has convinced the promoters of the proposed federal union of Australia that it would be unwise to incorporate it in their draft constitution, which simply provides that 'when a law of a state is inconsistent with a law of the commonwealth, the latter shall prevail, and the former shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be invalid.' The political government of the federation is given no special authority to act under this clause, and declare any 'state' legislation unconstitutional by a proclamation of the Governor General as is done in Canada, but the provision must be simply a direction to the courts, which also, in the proposed 'commonwealth,' are to have all the legitimate authority that is essential to the satisfactory operation of a federal system.

Some of the members of the Australian Convention, however, have seen a means of controlling 'state' legislation in the following provision.

'5. All references or communications, required by the constitution of any state or otherwise to be made by the Governor of the state to the Queen, shall be made through the Governor General, as Her Majesty's representative in the commonwealth, and the Queen's pleasure shall be made known through him.'

This section was severely criticised by the advocates of 'state rights' in the Convention, but it is certainly necessary unless we are to see the strange spectacle presented at all times, of the general and state governments communicating separately with the imperial authorities, who would soon become thoroughly perplexed, while the federation would constantly find itself plunged into difficulties. By means of one channel of intercourse, however, some order will be maintained in the relations between Britain and the proposed federation. It is quite true that the clause does not say, as it was urged by more than one prominent member of the Convention, 'that the executive authority of the commonwealth shall have the right to veto any Bill passed by the different states, or even to recommend Her Majesty to disallow such Bill ;' but there is nothing to prevent the Governor-General, as an Imperial officer, from making such comments in his despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies as he may deem proper and necessary ; indeed, it is his constitutional duty to do so, when he transmits the Acts of the respective 'states' to the Queen in Council for approval or disapproval—also such Acts continuing to be so referred as at present. Of course the Imperial Government is not likely to interfere with strictly local legislation any more than they do now ; all they ever do is to disallow colonial legislation that conflicts with imperial acts or imperial obligations. It is quite clear that this provision is for the advantage of the Empire at large, and necessary for the unity and harmony of the federation. Some means must exist for the instruction of the imperial authorities as to the relations between the Central and State Governments, and as to the character and bearing of state legislation ; and the Governor-General is bound to avail himself of the opportunity the clause in ques-

tion gives him of promoting the best interests of the Australian union.

When we come to consider the subject of Education—one of the matters placed under the direct control of the provincial Governments—we see again the difficulties that always arise in connection with questions involving religious and sectional considerations. In the formation of the constitution it was necessary to give guarantees to the Roman Catholics or minority of Ontario, and to the Protestants or minority of Quebec, that the sectarian or separate schools, in existence at the union, should not be disturbed by any subsequent legislation of their respective provinces. It is consequently enacted in the fundamental law that, while the legislature of a province may exclusively make laws on the subject of Education, nothing therein shall prejudicially affect any denominational schools in existence before July, 1867. An appeal lies to the Governor-General in Council from any act of the provincial authority affecting any local right or privilege that the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority enjoyed at the time of the union. In case the provincial authorities refuse to act for the due protection of the rights of minorities, in accordance with the constitution, then the Parliament of Canada may provide in this behalf.

As a result of a recent decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the Government of Manitoba have been called upon by the Dominion Executive to repeal certain legislation which the former body considered an infringement of educational privileges enjoyed before 1890 by the Roman Catholic minority of the province; and the attention of the people of Canada is now turned towards its legislature to see whether they will obey the 'remedial order,' or whether it will be necessary to have recourse to the supreme power of the Canadian parliament in the matter. The question is one of much gravity, inasmuch as it is admitted—the Judicial Committee have so decided—that the Acts of Manitoba on the subject of education are perfectly constitutional. It is a question to be determined only in a spirit of compromise and conciliation. In all such matters involving constitutional issues, the safest policy no doubt is to obey the decisions of the courts, so far as they are consonant with provincial

rights and the best interests of the Dominion. All these questions show some of the difficulties that are likely to impede the satisfactory operation of the Canadian federal system, and the projected Australian federation is fortunate in not having similar intensified differences of race and religion to contend with. Its constitution leaves all educational and purely local matters to the exclusive jurisdiction of the 'States,' and does not make provision for the exercise of that delicate power of remedial legislation which is given to the Canadian parliament to meet conditions of injustice to creed or nationality.

Throughout the structure of the Canadian federation we see the influence of French Canada. The whole tendency of imperial as well as colonial legislation for over a hundred years has been to strengthen this separate national entity, and give it every possible guarantee for the preservation of its own laws and religion. The first step in this direction was the Quebec Act of 1774, which relieved the Roman Catholics of Canada from the political disabilities under which they had suffered since the Conquest. Seventeen years later what is known as the imperial 'Constitutional Act' of 1791 created two provinces, Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec), with the avowed object of separating the two races into two distinct territorial divisions. From 1792 until 1840 there was a 'war of races' in French Canada, and after the revolt of 1837-8 the two provinces were re-united, with the avowed object of weakening French Canadian influence. As a matter of fact, however, the political history of Canada, from 1841 to 1867, shows the strength of a largely and closely welded French Canadian people, jealous of their institutions and their nationality. Eventually government came to a deadlock in consequence of the difficulties between political parties striving for the supremacy. These difficulties, arising from the antagonism of nationalities, led to the federation of all the provinces, and to the giving of additional guarantees for the protection of French Canadian interests. In the Senate, Québec has a representation equal to that of English Ontario, with nearly double the population, with the condition that each of its twenty-four members shall be chosen from each of the divisions of the province—a

condition intended to insure French Canadian representation to the fullest extent possible. In the adjustment of representation in the House of Commons, from time to time, the proportion of sixty-five members, given by the Union Act to Quebec, cannot be disturbed. The jurisdiction given to the provinces over civil rights and property, and the administration of justice except in criminal matters, was chiefly the work of French Canada, whose people have since 1774 accepted the criminal law of England, but have not been willing to surrender their civil code, based on the *Coutume de Paris*, which they have derived from their French ancestors. Both the French and English languages are used in the debates, records, and journals of the parliament of the Dominion and the legislature of Quebec. It would be difficult to conceive a constitution more clearly framed with the view of protecting the special institutions of one race, and perpetuating its separate existence in the Dominion. Of course the industrial energy of the British people, and the necessity of speaking the language of the British majority, has to a certain extent broken down the barriers that language imposes between nationalities, and it is only in the isolated and distant parishes of Quebec that we find persons who are ignorant of English. The political consequences of the legislation of the past century have been to cement the French Canadian nationality—to make it, so to speak, an *imperium in imperio*, a supreme power at times in the Dominion. It must be admitted that, on the whole, rational and judicious counsels have prevailed among the cultured and ablest statesmen of French Canada at critical times, when rash agitators have attempted to stimulate sectional and racial animosities and passions for purely political ends. The history of the two outbreaks of the half-breeds in the North-west, and of the recent school legislation in Manitoba, so far as it has gone, show the deep interest taken by French Canadians in all matters affecting their compatriots and co-religionists, and the necessity for caution and conciliation in working out the federal union. The federal constitution has been largely moulded in their interest, and the security and happiness of the Canadian Dominion in the future must greatly depend on their determination to adhere to the letter as well as to the spirit of this

important instrument. It is for French Canada, above all other provinces, to maintain the principle of local autonomy and the undoubted legislative rights of a province, whenever an emergency arises in other sections.

When we compare the British North America Act of Canada with the draft of the Bill to constitute the federation of Australia, which was the result of the convention of 1891, we must be impressed by the fact that the former appears more influenced by the spirit of British ideas than the latter, which has copied many of the features of the constitution of the United States. In the preamble of the Canadian Act we find expressly stated, 'the desire of the Canadian provinces to be federally united with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom,' while, on the other hand, we read in the draft of the Australian Bill only a bald statement of an agreement 'to unite in one federal Commonwealth under the Crown.' Although the word 'Commonwealth' has a general application to a body politic governed on popular principles, yet the memory of the majority of persons will go back to a trying and unfortunate period of British history. All of us will remember that Professor Bryce, in his elaborate criticism of the *republican* constitution of the United States, could find no more expressive title for his work than the 'American Commonwealth.' When we consider this fact in connection with the word 'State' instead of 'Provinces,' of 'House of Representatives'\* instead of House of Commons,' of 'Executive Council' instead of 'Privy Council,' we may well wonder why the Australians, all English by birth, origin, and aspiration, should have departed from the precedents established by Canada, only partly English, with the view of carving ancient historic names on the very

\*The present popular house of New Zealand is called a 'House of Representatives,' and this is not strange when we recall the republican principles of Sir George Grey, who is an earnest advocate of elected Governors-General, and other republican practices. But this eccentric colonial statesman does not appear to be responsible for the phraseology of the proposed constitution. The debates of the convention, of which he was a member, show that the majority desired to make their new constitution a copy, as far as practicable, of that of the United States.

front of their political structure. It would be perhaps quite in accord with the ambitious aspirations of Australians were they to substitute 'United Australia' for a word of dubious and even republican significance. In leaving to the 'States' the right of appointing or electing their 'Governors'—not Lieutenant-Governors, as in Canada—we see also the desire to follow the methods of the States of the American Republic; and we may be sure that, when once the Commonwealth is in operation, it will not be long before the heads of the executive authority will be chosen by popular vote, and we shall see the commencement of an extension of the democratic elective principle to all State, administrative, executive, and even judicial, officers, now appointed by the Crown, under the advice of a ministry responsible to Parliament for every appointment, and other act of administrative and executive authority.

We see the same American influence in the provision that 'when a law (*sic*) passed by the Parliament' (*sic*) is presented to the Governor-General 'for the Queen's assent,' he may 'return it to the Parliament (*sic*) with amendments which he may desire to have been made in such law' (*sic*). One cannot understand the reasoning which justifies the giving of such a power to the executive head; it is quite irreconcilable with the principles and practice of responsible government. He must, in all cases affecting the government of the colony, act under the advice of ministers. In this case, however, he is to assume the position held by similar officers before there was a Ministry responsible to him and the two Houses for all legislation. We also humbly inquire how a Bill can become 'a law' before it has received the assent of the Queen, through the Governor-General. When did Parliament mean only the two Houses in any legal or constitutional document? Such loose phraseology might do for common parlance, but not for a proposed statute, where in a former clause Parliament is properly said to 'consist of Her Majesty, a Senate, and a house of representatives.' We think that here, at least, the Australian draftsmen of the Bill might advantageously have copied the correct language of the American Republican Constitution, which never uses 'law' in so incorrect a sense, if they were not prepared to accept the British North American Act as

their model, though it was prepared under so high an authority as Lord Thring.

We see also an imitation of the constitution of the United States in the Australian provisions, making the central Government alone one of enumerated powers, and leaving the residuary power in the 'States.' The word 'parliament' is also generally applied to the legislative bodies of the Federal and State Governments—another illustration of the dominant influence of the colonies—hereafter 'States'—in the proposed constitution. Again, while the Bill provides for a Supreme and other Federal Courts to be appointed and removed by the authorities of the Commonwealth—and the influence of the American example is seen in the very language setting forth the powers of these judicial bodies—the 'State' Governments are to have full jurisdiction over the 'State' Courts. The federal judges can be removed, as in Canada, only by a successful impeachment in Parliament, and an address of the two Houses to the Governor-General in Council, and as long as the present constitution of the Australian colonies remains unchanged, the 'State' judges can be removed only by the action of the 'State Parliaments.' The Canadian constitution in this respect appears to give greater security for an independent and stable judiciary, since a Government operating on a larger sphere of action is likely to make better appointments than a smaller and less influential body within the range of provincial jealousies, rivalries, and factions. Indeed, it is not going too far to suppose that, with the progress of democratic ideas—already rife in Australia—we may have repeated the experience of the United States, and elective judges make their appearance in 'States' at some time when a wave of democracy has swept away all dictates of prudence, and given unbridled license to professional political managers only anxious for the success of party.

As respects any amendment of the constitution after its adoption, the Australians have also practically copied the American constitutional provision that, whenever two-thirds of the House of Congress, or of the legislatures of the several States, shall deem amendment necessary, it shall be submitted to a convention, and form part of the constitution when ratified

by the legislatures, or conventions of three-fourths of the States, as Congress may determine at the time. The Australian Bill permits an amendment to be proposed by an absolute majority of the two Houses of the Parliament of the Commonwealth, and then submitted to conventions of the several States, but it must be ratified by conventions of a majority of States who represent a majority of the people of the federation before it can be submitted to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent. The Canadian constitution may be amended in any particular, where power is not expressly given for that purpose to the parliament or legislatures, by an address of the Canadian Senate and Commons to the Queen—in other words, by the Imperial Parliament that enacted the original act of union—and without any reference whatever to the people voting at an election or assembled in a convention. Of course it may be said that the reference to the imperial authorities will not be much of a restraint on amendment inasmuch as it is not likely that a Parliament, already overburdened by business, will show any desire to interfere with the expression of the wishes of the Canadian Houses on a matter immediately affecting the Canadians themselves. So far there have been only three amendments made by the Imperial Parliament to the British North America Act in twenty-seven years, and these were simply necessary to clear up doubts as to the powers of the Canadian Houses. This fact says much for the satisfactory operation of the Canadian constitution as well as for the discretion of Canadian statesmen. The Canadian constitution in this particular clearly recognises the right of the supreme Parliament of the Empire to act as the arbiter on occasions when independent, impartial action is necessary; to discharge that duty in a legislative capacity which the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council now performs as the supreme court of all the dependencies of the Crown. The Australians propose to make themselves entirely independent of the action of a great parliament which might be useful in some crisis affecting deeply the integrity and unity of Australia, and to give full scope only to the will of democracy expressed in popular conventions. It is quite possible that the system will work smoothly, and even advantageously, though we should have pre-

ferred on the whole to see less readiness on the part of British colonies to reproduce republican ideas and methods of government.

It is an interesting, and to Englishmen everywhere, an encouraging fact that the Canadian people, despite their neighbourhood to a great and prosperous federal commonwealth, should not, even in the most critical and gloomy periods of their history, have shown any disposition to mould their institutions directly on those of the United States and lay the foundation for future political union. Previous to 1840, which was the commencement of a new era in the political history of the provinces, there was a time when discontent prevailed throughout the Canadas, but never did any large body of the people threaten to sever the connection with the parent state. The Act of Confederation was framed under the direct influence of Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier, and although one was an English Canadian and the other a French Canadian, neither yielded to the other in the desire to build up a Dominion on the basis of British institutions in the closest possible connection with the mother country. While the question of union was under consideration, British Liberal statesmen and writers alone predicted that the new federation, with its great extent of territory, its abundant resources, and ambitious people, would eventually form a new nation independent of England. Canadian statesmen never spoke or wrote of separation, but regarded the constitutional change in their political condition as giving them greater weight and strength in the Empire. The influence of Britain on the Canadian Dominion can be seen throughout its governmental machinery, in the system of parliamentary government, in the constitution of the Privy Council and the Houses of Parliament, in an independent judiciary, in appointed officials of every class—in the provincial as well as Dominion system—in a permanent and non-political civil service, and in all elements of sound administration. During the twenty-seven years that have passed since 1867, the attachment of Canada to her British institutions has gained in strength, and it is clear that those predictions of Englishmen, to which we have referred, are completely falsified so far, and the time is not at hand for the separation of Canada

from the Empire. On the contrary, the dominant sentiment is for strengthening the ties that have in some respects become weak in consequence of the enlargement of the political rights of the Dominion, which has assumed the position of a semi-independent Power, since Britain now only retains her imperial Sovereignty by declaring peace or war with foreign nations, by appointing a Governor-General, by controlling Colonial legislation through the Queen in Council and the Queen in Parliament, but not so as to diminish the rights of self-government conceded to the Dominion, and by requiring the making of all treaties with foreign countries through her own Government, while recognising the right of the dependency to be consulted and directly represented on all occasions when its interests are immediately affected. In no respect have the Canadians followed the example of the United States and made their executive entirely separate from the legislative authority. On the contrary, there is no institution which works more admirably in the federation—in the general as well as provincial governments—than the principle of making the ministry responsible to the popular branch of the legislature, and in that way keeping the executive and legislative departments in harmony with one another, and preventing that conflict of authorities which is a distinguishing feature of the very opposite system that prevails in the Federal Republic. If we review the amendments made of late years in the political constitution of the United States, and especially those ratified quite recently in New York, we see in how many respects the Canadian system of government is superior to that of the republic. Of course in the methods of party government we can see in Canada at times attempts to follow the example of the United States, and introduce the party machine with its professional politicians and all those influences that have degraded politics since the days of Jackson and Van Buren. Happily, so far, the people of Canada have shown themselves fully capable of removing those blots that show themselves from time to time on the body politic. Justice has soon seized those men who have betrayed their trust in the administration of public affairs. Although Canadians may, according to their political proclivities, find fault with the

methods of governments, and be carried away at times by political passion beyond the bounds of reason, it is encouraging to find that all are ready to admit the high character of the judiciary for learning, integrity and incorruptibility. The records of Canada do not present a single instance of the successful impeachment or removal of a judge for improper conduct on the bench since the days of responsible government, and the three or four petitions laid before Parliament since 1867, asking for an investigation into vague charges against some judges, have never required a judgment of the Houses. Canadians built wisely when, in the formation of their constitution, they followed the British plan, of having an intimate and invaluable connection between the executive and legislative departments, and of keeping the judiciary practically independent of the other authorities of government. Not only the life and property of the people but the satisfactory working of the whole system of federal government rests more or less on the discretion and integrity of the judges. Canadians are satisfied that the peace and security of the whole Dominion do not depend more on the ability and patriotism of statesmen in the legislative halls than on that principle of the constitution which places the judiciary in an exalted position among all the other authorities of government, and makes law as far as possible the arbiter of their constitutional conflicts. All political systems are very imperfect at the best, legislatures are constantly subject to currents of popular prejudice and passion, statesmanship is too often weak and fluctuating, incapable of appreciating the true tendency of events, and too ready to yield to the force of present circumstances and to dictates of expediency; but law, as worked out on British principles in all the dependencies of the Empire—as understood by Marshall, Story, and Kent, and other great masters of constitutional and legal learning—gives the best possible guarantee for the security of institutions in a country of popular government.

J. G. BOURINOT.

## ART. III.—FRAGMENTS OF CAITHNESS FOLK-LORE.

THE Folk-Lore Society has done much admirable work since its inception twenty years ago. In almost every part of the world persons are now engaged in collecting, collating, and comparing legends, popular customs and sayings, in order that light may be thrown upon events of the past and beliefs of the present. The ardent folk-lorist investigates in true scientific fashion; scrupulous heed is given to every detail and variation, infinite pains are taken to separate, as far as may be, the ancient myth from the modern overgrowth. It is well that a systematic effort of this kind was instituted in time to rescue many of the oral traditions from the inevitable destruction which awaited them—the destruction incidental to the prevalence of the railroad, the school board, and the nineteenth century spirit of questioning. The rational claim advanced by many eminent folk-lorists that the study should be ranked as a science, is, however, coincident with the disappearance of not a little of romance. It is difficult for attention to be concentrated upon the lessons of folk-lore, and at the same time to preserve a keen appreciation of the colour, the picturesque suggestiveness of those old-world thoughts and beliefs which have for generations been guarded by the unlettered, and whose emotional roots stretch back into the past. Analysis and romance are to a great extent incongruous. To employ the one, we must, almost of necessity, forego the other.

No attempt is made in this paper to investigate scientifically the lore of the North. The aim of the writer is to recall, and present simply, a few fragments from that great storehouse of popular wisdom and tradition.

The Celt of the Western Highlands and the Isles preserves his hold on the past largely by means of that elemental imagination, and that ardent love of his birthplace and all connected therewith, which are his dominant characteristics. The folk of Caithness, Sutherland, and the Northern Isles, on the other hand, treasure with a quiet simplicity the lore which has come down to them, with also an unquestioning faith that is touch-

ing as well as beautiful. The modern spirit is here confronted by barriers of old-world wisdom, of prejudice if one will, which, unimportant as they may seem, have incalculable powers of resistance.

From the shepherd who spends his days on the wide moors of Caithness, from the fisher who plies his craft on the turbulent water of the Pentland Firth, from the midwife who, almost destitute of modern knowledge, attends with marvellous skill alike at cottage and farmstead, from these people and such as these the writer has gleaned much that is here set down.

Caithness (Gaelic *Gollabh*), Catteynes, the Land of the Stranger, and Sutherland, the South Land, are steeped in strange superstitions, some traceable to Norse, others to Celtic influence. The lone, wind-swept home of the Clan of the Catts, with its miles of moorland and peat fields, its bold rocky coast, this county, with Sutherland, and the groups of islands to the north, are in a peculiar sense the home of folk-lore, legend, myth, and peasant wisdom. To this day the older members of the fishing community take off their bonnets as they row past the Head of Whailagoe, and thus express, in their simple way, the deep reverence which they feel for the 'great mither' on whose breast they are tossed. The lassies of Freswick dress their hair before sunrise on pain of causing their sweethearts to be lashed with these silken tresses by the evil kelpies of the pool. The farmer of to-day lights the bonfire at midnight on New Year's Eve, and passes his kye through the flames to secure them from disease, while the herd-boys jump over the flaming peats for good luck. Changeling children are regarded with the same awe as of old, and witches, elfins, and sprites can, it is said, be discerned around the Maiden Paps weaving the threads of fate.

From birth-time to death, dwellers in the remote north-country are more or less subject to the fantastic and frequently contradictory precepts of folk-lore. In some districts it is customary to fry a bannock, which, with a Bible, is placed under the pillow of the woman who has just given birth to a child; a fir candle is then lighted and whirled three times over the bed, while the watchers call down a blessing in these words:

'May the Almighty debar a' ill fae this ooman, an' be aboot ir, an' bless ir an' ir bairn.' Pieces of bannock are afterwards distributed among the friends who have assembled to wish well to mother and child. The greater the number of well-wishers, the greater the happiness of the child in after life. There still lingers a widespread belief that the 'fair folk' or 'gweed neebors,' as the fairies are called, have a craving for human milk, and during the first days of convalescence a mother must be zealously guarded lest one of the 'wee people' come and rob the child of its nourishment. Sometimes they succeed in carrying off a mother. Tradition tells of the wife of a farmer who was spirited to the palace of the fairies in a large cave on a remote part of the Caithness coast. Notwithstanding the kindness of the fair folk, the woman pined for her home, and offered as a ransom the finest milk cow in her gweed man's byre : she was permitted to return to the home-stead, and the cow was led to the fairy hillock. It disappeared, but, later, returned *eel* and weak. On occasions, too, the child is stolen, for have not the fairies once in every seven years to pay 'the teind to hell'? They then endeavour to sacrifice a human babe rather than one of their own number. A north country fisher had a fine child. One evening a beggar woman entered the hut and went up to the cradle to gaze into the eyes of the babe. From that time good health left it, a strange look came into its face, and the mother was troubled. An old man begging for food passed that way. When he caught sight of the child, he cried, 'That's nae a bairn ; its 'n image, and the gweed folk has stoun his speerit.' Thereupon he set to work to recall the fisher's bairn. A peat fire was heaped high on the hearth and a black hen held over it at such a distance that it was singed and not killed. After some struggling the hen escaped up the lum. A few moments elapsed, and then the parents were gladdened by the sight of a happy expression once more on the child's face. It thrived from that day forward.

The young mother of the north is beset with a host of difficulties; to forget one only of the birthtide precepts is to induce an evil of some kind. For example, if the child be a boy,

he must be wrapped in a woman's gown, if a girl, a man's garment should be used: otherwise the children can never marry. Again, the palms of a new-born infant must not be touched with water, or poverty will be his lot. Occasionally, a piece of live peat is thrown into the washing vessel, and the water after use is poured at the base of the cottage walls, or drunk to strengthen the memory; in these ways a happy future is assured to the child. Grave concern is felt for children of different sexes who are to be baptised at the same time: if, by any chance, the minister sprinkles the boy first, his beard will remain in the water and be transferred to the girl. In Orkney, Caithness, and Sutherland, a child is said to be 'forespoken' if sickness come without visible cause. The spell may be worked by an evil minded person using such a phrase as 'He's a bouny bairn,' without adding, 'God save the wee thing.' One charm for this must be repeated over a vessel of water:—

‘Father, Son, Holy Ghost,  
Bitten sall they be  
Wha have bitten thee!  
Care to their near vein,  
Until thou getst thy health again,  
Mend thou in God’s name! ’

Again, many ‘howdies’ guard an infant from being ‘forespoken’ by passing it three times through the mother’s petticoat, or by placing a heart-shaped brooch on the back of its little robe. Douce nurses are full of strange ideas concerning the ‘bit girlies and laddies’ under their charge. According to some, a child does not break the fairy spell until it has sneezed once, and the greatest concern is evinced until this sign of good omen takes place. A wise ‘howdie’ who assisted at the birth of the present writer, treasured a long string to which she attached a piece of print for each child she helped to bring into the world. This leal-hearted, pious woman could associate most, if not all, of the coloured strips with the names of the children, and it was her wont to pray for her ‘fine ladies and lassies,’ calling each by name as she touched the *dud* connected with him. The same old body was convinced that the moment an infant was born, and for an hour afterwards, it

bore such an unmistakeable resemblance to the father that it was impossible to be misled as to the parentage. She believed, also, that those destined to be drowned at sea came into the world with a slight indenture on the forehead which gradually filled up, until, when the allotted number of days had passed, it was indistinguishable.

Innumerable quaint sayings attach to boys and their doings; a characteristic example, used to seal a bargain, runs thus :—

‘ As sure’s death  
Cut ma breath  
Ten miles aneath the earth,  
Fite man, black man,  
Burn me t’ death.’

The following rhymes anent the rainbow come from the two northern counties. In Caithness, boys cry :—

‘ Rainbowie, rainbowie,  
Dinna rain o’ me,  
Rain o’ John o’ Groat’s house,  
Or far beyond the sea.’

The Sutherland riddle is :—

‘ I see to me,  
I see from me,  
Two miles over the sea,  
A little blue man,  
In a green boatee;  
His shirt is lined with a skein of red.’

The boys of Sutherland will never allow a beetle to escape them ; they stamp on the insect and cry : ‘ Beetle, beetle, you won’t see to-morrow.’ The practice is without doubt connected with a legend which may be heard in the counties, a legend of special interest as a type of those curious Scottish stories wherein New Testament history and modern realism are interblent. Here it is :—

As they fled into Egypt, Joseph and Mary and the child Christ passed through a field where men scattered corn seeds. The Virgin said to the men : ‘ Should any ask of you if we have journeyed this way, make answer, “ A man, a woman, and a child crossed the field as we sowed the corn.” ’ The men promised to do her bidding. That night the grain

sprouted, grew rapidly, and ripened, so that next day the labourers brought their sickles and began to reap it. Now a band of soldiers came and questioned them : 'Have you seen a mother and child on an ass with a man leading it, go this way?' The men replied : 'As we sowed the corn which we now reap, they passed.' When they heard these words, the messengers of the King were about to turn back, but a black beetle cried aloud : 'Yesterday, yesterday, the corn was sown, and the Son of God passed through the field.'

It is but fitting that round an incident of such importance as marriage should accumulate folk-sayings and superstitions in number. A northern maid could at one time ascertain who was to be her future husband by a simple process. Immediately after supper she read the third chapter of Ruth, then washed the dishes, and, without opening her lips, went to bed with the Bible under her pillow, and a pin stuck through the chapter. The man then appeared to her in a vision. To test his loyalty she was enjoined to take three stalks of the 'carl-doddie' in bloom, strip off the blossom, lay the stalks in her left shoe, and place this under her pillow. If the lover was to prove faithful, the flowers blossomed anew. Another method of calling up an apparition of the husband to be, to which allusion is made in Burns' 'Halloween,' was for the lass to make her way in the twilight, unnoticed, to a fallow-field, and there scatter several handfuls of lint-seed, as she repeated :

'Lint-seed I saw ye,  
Lint-seed I saw ye ;  
Lat's him it's to be my lad  
Come aifter me and draw me.'

Over her left shoulder she would then discern her future mate coming towards her. There is a Charm, which commands the anxious inquirer to go to a south running stream, and there wash the left sleeve of her shift. On her return home this should be hung before the cottage fire, and at night-fall the figure of her laddie will come and turn the damp sleeve. A curse falls upon a changeable suitor if the nineteenth Psalm be copied out and sent to him, and the receipt of this spell is even now regarded with some dread. It is considered essential to happiness for a couple to be married during the waxing moon,

and every stage in the preparations, from the purchase of the bonny *braws* at the neighbouring village to the final feast, has its own special significance. A graceful practice at one time widespread, was for the bride and bridegroom elect to go, hand in hand, to the cottages of their friends and bid them to the wedding; a white chalk mark on the door betokened to those who were not at home that they had been invited. Another prenuptial custom full of simple significance, which still survives, is for the most intimate friends of the bridegroom to assemble at his house the night before the marriage, fill a tub with stream-water, and wash his feet and legs; each comrade takes his turn at this mystic rite. In some districts it is believed that the one of the married couple who first falls asleep will be the first to pass. An old wife thus expressed herself on the subject:—‘Weel a myne, he was the first to fa’ asleep; a speer’t at widow Macpherson’s gehn she mynt filk o’ them fa’d asleep first, but she didna’ myne.’ The bride is greeted at her new home by two friends, one of whom carries a towel, the other a plate of cakes. The towel is spread over the bride’s head, and the cakes, or hard Caithness cheese, which has been partially sawn through with a jack-knife, is broken on her head. In olden times it was the wont to lead the new-made wife to the hearth: the peat fire was then scattered, and she re-made it, that good-will might be in the house.

The superstitions connected with death in the Land o’ the Catts are weird and numerous; if a single individual paid heed to all of them his life journey would indeed be a gloomy one. Among fateful presages the death-drap holds a prominent place; the eerie sound known by this name was generally heard in the quiet of the night by one person who was thus called, and then by all those who touched him. It was as if single drops of water fell with the utmost regularity, and sometimes this haunting summons continued for many hours. There are peasants who tell that they have heard the dull thud of a coffin laid at their door prior to the death of a dear one, and others who aver that the murmur of countless human voices, borne on the wind from no whither, is an unerring token that death is at hand. A housewife of Cannisbay told

the present writer that, prior to the passing of a neighbour, she observed a strange candlelight flitting about his cottage; it was carried by no human hand, and its fitful wanderings told her of what was to come. A method, much in vogue at one time, of ascertaining whether a sickness would prove fatal, was to dig two holes in the ground, one called the quick grave, the other the dead hole; the sufferer was then placed between the two, and the hole towards which he turned indicated what would be the outcome of his malady. Sometimes a piece of rock was broken over the head of a person whose last agonies were painful alike to himself and to those who witnessed them. It was believed that the heart of the sick man would thus be broken and his release hastened. Windows and doors are always thrown wide open in order that the departing spirit may have free egress from the house, and escape from the evil ones that hover around eager to enthrall his soul. During the interval between death and burial hens and cats were kept carefully shut up; a person meeting these animals at such a juncture was doomed to blindness in the future: moreover, unless a stream divided the two houses, farmers frequently refrained from yoking their oxen or horses before the body was 'laid under the turf of truth.' Many women preserved with the greatest reverence their bridal attire to cover them in the coffin. Bread and water were placed in the chamber of death, for during the night prior to the burial the spirit of the departed one came to partake of them. Still-born children, and little ones who had not been blessed by the minister, were buried before sunrise. In this way their admission to the land of promise was assured. Not to observe the practice was to destine the souls of these bairns to wander homeless and disconsolate. The fate of the suicide is lamentable. His body cannot rest in the kirkyard, for it would taint the souls of those who lie therein; frequently he was buried in a lone dyke which separated two lairds' estates, and passers-by were expected to cast a pebble at the rude stone which marked the place. The graveyard is not without its many strange superstitions. Here it is that persons in league with the powers of darkness steal at dead of night, and sell their souls to the

devil; in awed whispers stories are told of his appearance and wild words on such occasions. To the burying place those also go who would gain the power to arrest the progress of animals and man; while they open a coffin and take from it a screw, the Lord's Prayer must be repeated backwards. If a screw thus obtained be placed in the footprint of an animal or a human being, and the charm muttered below the breath, the progress of friend or foe is stayed.

No section of the folk-lore of these northern regions is so rich in nature myth, in floating wreckage of pagan times, and in mutilated fragments of the age of the Fionn and the Norse rovers, as that connected with the sea. The sea has been called 'the restless mother of the world,' ever forming and reforming, casting up and swallowing again, as it does, islands and even vast continents. The epithet is peculiarly applicable to the waters of the North, for the population of the Land of the Stranger, in the past, depended almost entirely on the sea for the necessities of life. The older generation of fishers, who navigated these skerries and firths relied mainly on traditional knowledge for their guidance. In Orkney, the ebb and flow of the tides was attributed to the breathing of a sea-monster which lay outstretched on the confines of the world. So gigantic was he, that the simple acts of expiration and inspiration took twelve hours to perform. The resemblance between this nature myth and that of the Greeks is very remarkable. North country sailors scorned at one time to use a compass, for, by the motion of the ninth wave, the Mother Wave, they could, even in the densest fog, ascertain their exact whereabouts, and gain the shore in safety. The launching of a Wick smack was, for years, regarded as unlucky unless the words which follow were repeated by the onlookers:—

‘Fae rocks an' saans,  
An' barren lan's  
Keep's free.  
Weel oot, weel in,  
Wi' a' gweed shot.’

Harmful, if not fatal, results are believed to follow the utterance of certain words at sea. The salmon is ever a ‘fine bit

fish,' and swine, minister, kirk, hare, and numerous other words are solemnly interdicted. The presence of a minister in a boat is, by many, regarded with grave concern, and it is sometimes with the utmost difficulty that a crew can be induced to go to sea if a minister is on board. Those who have sailed with these half-Norse, half-Celtic fishers, must have taken note of the method adopted to raise the 'wun;' the main mast is scratched energetically, and the men 'whustle' the while. Suspicious or unwelcome visitors are, on no consideration, admitted to a fisherman's hut while the lines are baited, and to count the number of a haul is equally unlucky; if the catch be a good one, an inquirer is never vouchsafed more information than 'we hae a gae puckle.' Water from the crest of the third wave, or 'die,' as Shetland folk call it, is deemed efficacious for the cure of divers ailments, notably that of 'worm,' or toothache. Another superstitious belief which obtains is, that 'the greatest witch in the world,' the sea, should never be directly mentioned, but referred to as 'her,' or the 'holy toyt.' An inhuman prejudice warns the fisher that it is dangerous to save a drowning man: the sea 'mun hae her nummer,' and one of the rescuers has to pay the penalty of his faithlessness to tradition with his own life. A man, moreover, who has survived shipwreck more than once is said to have 'the ee o' the deep' upon him, he is 'like a taed's bird, the aulder the waur.' There now lives a Caithness sailor who, alone of his crew, has been saved so many times that no captain will have him on board. The old objection to destroy the bones of a fish which has been eaten, lingers in the north. One version of it runs thus:—

‘Roast me weel, or boil me weel,  
But dinna burn my behns,  
Or else a'll grow scarcer  
Aboot yer herth-stehns.’

Like his Shetland neighbour, the Caithness sailor is careful to turn his boat 'withershins,' that is sunways, or he will have no luck with his nets.

The belief in the power of witches to control the sea was widespread, and seamen to this day purchase fair winds from

mysterious hags for a consideration. In Shetland, and to some extent in Caithness, fishers regard the halibut in a manner which is worthy of note. Silence is enjoined on the boat immediately the man at the line feels the fish; if, by some mischance, a youth speaks, and, above all, if he utters the name halibut, calamity falls on all hands on board. The 'bluggabanes,' breast bones, of the turbot were carefully preserved in an out-of-the-way chink of the fisherman's cottage; prosperity was thereby assured to the occupants. It is probable that the fish was thought to be under the special protection of Thor, the divine genius of the butt tribe.

Legends and superstitions without number are associated with the holy wells and lochs of Scotland, and several examples of this lore are to be found in Caithness, Sutherland, and the Northern Isles. St. John's Loch, or the Holy Loch, at Dunnet, possesses a mysterious power for the allaying of diseases of divers kinds; ere the sufferer can be healed, he must walk thrice round the water before sunrise. On the surface of a well at Halkirk lies a filmy veil, the colours of which in the sunlight are brilliant and varied as the plumage of a peacock. To the faithful only is it given to see this phenomenon. Many a Caithness peasant believes in the efficacy of 'casting the heart' for the cure of sickness. Into water, drawn from certain wells and running streams, some melted lead is dropped; portions of the metal formed into heart-shaped pieces, and if one of the lead hearts be put in all beverages drunk by the ailing person, health is restored. This cure can, however, be effected on certain days only in each *raith*, or quarter. St. Tredwell's Loch, in Papa-Westray, evidently one of the many centres of the ancient hermits of Papa, had of yore a wide fame, in part because its waters turned red as a prognostic of any important event in the Royal Family, in part because of its marvellous curative powers. A large number of coins, chiefly of the seventeenth century, have been found at the chapel hard by, offerings of gratitude, doubtless, from those who were healed by washing in the loch, or by walking silently round the edge. A typical example of water worship survives in the north. The maiden who, on New

Year's morning, first draws a pailful of water from the village well is accounted singularly fortunate. She has, in truth, secured the 'flower o' the well,' and will be happy for the succeeding year. The lassies often sing this couplet:—

'The flower o' the well to our howse gaes,  
And the bonniest lad'll be mine.'

The water-kelpies of the north of Scotland are not less mischievous than those of other districts. They dwell in deep pools, or preside over mill-streams and fords; strange sounds heard near such places are attributed to them. At times they assume the form of a horse, and graze quietly by the riverside, but woe-betide the unwary traveller who mounts, for he is spirited away, maybe to become a kelpie himself. In Orkney, these weird steeds are often snow-white, and are then called 'muggles.' The impossible task of training a water-horse has frequently been attempted, but, although apparently successful for a time, a heavy penalty attaches to such daring. Months, perhaps years, pass, during which the kelpie does good work, but, finally, he turns fiercely upon his would-be master. When wroth, the kelpie gallops wildly about, screaming hideously; if any one cross his path he tramples him or her to death.

The land spirits are called 'dressed fairies' in Sutherlandshire. They are found all over the county, but their favourite haunts are three conical hills, two of which go by the name of Torr Berrichan. These little people, clad in green, hunt merrily in the forest glades with horns and hounds, and peasants tell that, as evening falls, the 'horns of elfland' grow fainter and fainter in the distance and the hounds go wearily homeward. The fairies of Caithness dwell in caves which run for many miles inland from the sea. In certain homesteads, midway between Castletown and Wick, the labourers, when cutting peats with the *sheel*, hear the wee folk busily at work in their underground retreat. For the most part these 'dressed fairies' are kind to those who treat them well, but that they are occasionally mischievous the following tale shows. A woman of Sutherland passed one day through Glen Craig, in Strath Carron. She carried her infant in her

plaid. The wild solitude of the place haunted her, and, as she trod the path which runs beside the deep ravine of Glen Dun, the bairn, scarce twelve months old, spoke these words:

'(Many is the dun hummel cow, each having a calf),

I have seen milked

In the opposite Dun Glen

Without the aid of dog,

Or man, or woman, or gillie,

One man excepted,

And he grey'—

The terrified mother dropped the infant and hurried homeward, where, to her great joy, she found her baby crooning happily by the peat glow. The fairies had befooled her. Nearly every family in the North could boast of a brownie, and offerings of milk and meal were frequently made to them. Special *screws*, stacks of corn, were under their protection, and not a few farmers tell that their forbears received valuable aid from the brownies who, unseen, worked vigorously with the flail.

So lately as the middle of this century, a girl of Louisburgh, near Wick, was accused of being in league with the 'poopers o' mischief,' and a remedy akin to that recently practised with such tragic results in Ireland was devised. She was placed in a basket lined with shavings of wood, which was then hung over a fire. The issue in this case was not fatal, but the folk averred that she was not 'half so witch-like' after she had been singed. A hag of the Northern Isles was, at times, thought to be metamorphosed into a porpoise, and in fair weather she would dive under and overturn a fishing boat, against whose skipper she bore a grudge. On one occasion, she was made to place her hand on the bodies of several men who had met their death in such a way, and, in the words of the old chronicler, one 'bled at the collir bane,' another 'in the hands and fingers, gushing out bluid thairat to the great admiratione of the beholders and revelation of the judgment of the Almychtie.' A host of stories tell of northern witches who have given diseases to horses, oxen, and flocks of moorland sheep. Herdsman to this day distrust unknown persons who touch the food of their kye, lest it be poisoned. In

Shetland the cat or *vaneja* is regarded as an animal which brings good luck; if she is seen to run towards the boat's *nust*, there is sure to be a good catch. In Caithness, on the contrary, witches frequently appear in the form of cats. A carpenter of Scrabster in olden times was systematically robbed of his meal and cakes. He thought it 'cu'na be cannie,' and one night as he watched he saw a number of cats devouring his property. In a trice he cut off the right leg of one of them, whereupon they made their escape with a rapidity which confirmed his former suspicions. Shortly afterwards an old woman, who had always been looked upon with disfavour, was found dead in her lone cottage, bereft of her right leg.

Here is another story of the supernatural. Not many years ago, in a kirk near Thurso, a name which indicates the influence of the Norse mythology, the minister, much to the surprise of the devout if somewhat sleepy folk who sat under him, was overcome with laughter during the sermon, his eyes meantime being fixed on one of the old beams which supported the roof. Service over, he was eagerly interrogated on the subject, and proceeded to give a graphic description of the 'auld black een' who sat cross-legged on the rafter busily inscribing the names of those who slept during the sermon. The thick scroll of parchment was not long enough to hold all the names, and the 'mischief' put one end between his feet, and hauled vigorously at the other with his claw-like hands for the purpose of stretching it. Of a sudden, he lost grip with his hands, and the parchment sprang back with such force that he fell from his perch and vanished through a hole in the wall.

'Health comes slowly, but in huge billows cometh ailment,' is a Gaelic saying used by the folk of Caithness and Sutherland. Traditional cures abound in these parts where, for generations, doctors were practically unknown. Quite recently only, the present writer was recommended by a Caithness man to cure a stye in the following manner. At sunrise, walk to a place where two roads cross, pluck a thorn from the hedge, stick it into the swelling, and afterwards throw the thorn over the left shoulder. Warts, according to a native, gradually

disappear if a piece of raw beef be laid upon the excrescence and then placed in a mouse's hole. One of the most general, as well as one of the most potent, of cures was the casting of knots; various diseases were subject to this spell, and those who had the 'sicht' could also bind up the winds, or loosen the tempests by tying certain nooses on a rope. An epileptic is told to exhume the skull of a suicide, fill it with well-water, and take a long draught. A Sutherland stalker of the last generation had a remedy for toothache which never failed. In perfect good faith the following words were written on a scrap of linen or paper:—

'Peter sat on a stone weeping.  
Christ came past and said, "What aileth thee Peter?"  
"O my Lord, my tooth doth ache."  
Christ said, "Rise, Peter, thy tooth shall ache no more."'

This charm was worn round the neck until eventually the worm was driven out of the tooth.

The foregoing pages contain representative gleanings only of the folk-lore of those remote counties where, in time past, oral tradition took the place of books, and peasant wisdom fulfilled the wants of the age. One and all are characteristic of the people, and in this lies their claim to interest.

FRANK RINDER.

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#### ART. IV.—ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

OUR knowledge of Oriental antiquity has of late been so much increased, by discoveries made in Egypt and in Chaldea which throw light on the earliest historic ages, that it is natural to ask how such discoveries affect the critical theories which have won a large measure of acceptance. It is proposed to enquire first as to the grounds of such theories, and as to the transformation which they have undergone during the last quarter of a century, and secondly, as to their relation to the facts of archæology, which, as a rule, are little

regarded by literary critics. Such enquiry is not made with the object of supporting any views based on Rabbinic opinion, but only of considering, from a purely antiquarian point of view, what are likely to be the facts.

The old critical theory, as presented in the works of Bishop Colenso, taught that the Pentateuch was the work of four writers. The Elohist, who wrote about half the book of Genesis, Colenso supposed to have been Samuel, and the Jehovahist who supplemented his account and added that of the Exodus, was held to have lived some centuries later. The two writers were sharply distinguished by their use of these two names for the Deity. The author of Deuteronomy was a third writer of later age, and the Book of Leviticus, together with certain chapters in Exodus and Numbers, were the distinct production of a later priest about the time of the Captivity. Such a view had the merit of simplicity, and was based on arguments often as old as the time of Bayle, Voltaire and Astruc. It was answered by pointing out that the distinctions could not be maintained. That the names Elohim and Jehovah both occur in narratives (such as that of Potiphar's wife, Gen. xxxix.) which it is impossible to split up : that passages occur in Leviticus which are in the style of Deuteronomy ; that expressions assigned to the later priestly writer occur in Genesis; and that the whole Pentateuch is knit together with an unity which makes it impossible to distinguish separate books of successive ages.

This reply has not been ignored by later critics. They admit that the Elohist and Jehovahist narratives cannot be sharply divided, and that there is an unity, which however they consider 'artificial.' The newer theory therefore supposes that a priestly editor copied out 'excerpts' from ancient sources, and connected them with a thread of narrative including important additions. That he left the contradictions which are supposed to be traceable unreconciled, and added new laws which he represented as being due to Moses, but which differed from those of his earlier authorities. That he never quoted the sources of his information, and instead of rewriting the whole has left us a curious patchwork, which is

however still, according to Canon Driver, to be regarded as in some sense an inspired work.

This theory does not rest on the evidence of manuscripts or of versions. It does not rest on differences of language, such as distinguish the earlier from the later Hebrew, or from the Aramaic. It does not rest on the notice of events or persons of the later age of Captivity, or on the statements to be found in the Prophets or in the Book of Kings. It contradicts not only the Rabbinical tradition but the Jewish belief of Jeremiah's age. The text of the Pentateuch is singularly pure; and the differences between the Hebrew Samaritan Greek and Syriac versions may be enumerated on a page of note paper. The oldest Hebrew MSS. belong to the tenth century A.D., and hardly differ at all from the received text. The latest historic persons noticed in the Pentateuch are Agag and Hadad; and Shiloh is doubtfully indicated. The language of the Pentateuch is substantially the same throughout, and it differs from the later Hebrew of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. It contains no Persian words, nor any Aramaic forms which can be confidently stated to be late.\* The authority of the author of Kings is often quoted for the discovery of the Law in the time of Josiah (2 K. xxii. 8); but the same author states that Amaziah obeyed the 'Book of the Law of Moses' (2 K. xiv. 6) about 840 B.C., and he represents Solomon (1 K. viii. 53) as referring to the separation of Israel (Levit. xx. 26) and quoting Moses as his authority. It is not clear why one statement should be accepted, and the rest passed over in silence as a rule.

There are allusions, in the Prophets who are generally acknowledged to have written before the captivity, to many

\* Recent critics do not attach the importance once ascribed to scattered Aramaisms in Hebrew. The West Aramaic is traced in the inscriptions of Samala to 800 B.C., including such words as that for 'land' used by Jeremiah. The Amorite language in the fifteenth century B.C. was East Aramaic. The Moabite in 900 B.C. also shews Aramaic features. The books in which Aramaic passages, Persian and Greek words, occur are all later than the Captivity. Some words said to be Persian are found early in Assyrian, and were adopted by the Persians whose language gradually embraced a large Aramaic element.

incidents found in Genesis and Exodus. To the Garden of Eden (Isaiah, xxxvii. 12; Joel, ii. 3), to Nimrod (Micah, v. 6), to Abraham (Micah, vii. 20), to Sodom (Hosea, xi. 8; Amos, iv. 11; Isaiah, i. 10, viii. 16-20), to the history of Jacob's wanderings and marriage (Hosea, xii. 12), to Moses (Jer., xv. 1), and to the Exodus and forty years in the desert (Jer., xv. 1; Hosea, xii. 13; Amos, v. 25), to Miriam and Aaron (Micah, vi. 4), to Balaam and Balak (Micah, vi. 5). There are also numerous references to the Torah or Law (Isaiah, ii. 3; Jer., xviii. 18, xxxi. 13; Hosea, viii. 12; Micah, iv. 2), to the Ephod (Hosea, iii. 4), and to the Nazarites (Amos, ii. 12), which are undisputed. In the early historic books we find notice of the shewbread (1 Sam. xxi. 6) and of unclean food (Judg. xiii. 4-7). The tabernacle is also stated to have existed in the time of Solomon (1 K., ii. 28-29), and the feast of booths is noticed by Hosea (xii. 9). It is admitted, therefore, that not only the general thread of tradition concerning Hebrew origins, but many of their feasts and laws, are of great antiquity, yet the shewbread is only noticed in passages of the Law supposed to have been written by the Priestly Editor; and the Torah is supposed to have been unknown to Israel before the time of Josiah.

On what, therefore, is the present critical theory based, and what grounds have we for supposing that a later priest composed the present Pentateuch, inserting 'excerpts' without any quotation of authority, and leaving contradictions for the critic to discover? In the Book of Deuteronomy we read: 'What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto or diminish therefrom' (xii. 32), and this command was regarded by the later Jews as so binding that they feared to alter a letter even of the text as known to them.\* Yet the Priestly Editor is supposed not only to have added and suppressed, but to have left this passage in his work to confound himself. The authors of the Books of Joshua, Samuel, and Kings, give us the names of the older sources whence they drew their facts. The author of Chroni-

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\* See also Deut., iv. 2.

cles re-wrote the whole history of the monarchy when he wished to present it from his own priestly point of view. The Pentateuch itself refers to an older source (Num., xxi. 14)\* in one passage, and to the later Jews the citation of authority was all important. What reason, therefore, is there to suppose that 'excerpts' occur in the Pentateuch, the source of which is unacknowledged? How is it that long passages, which the earlier critics regarded as being among the most ancient— ascribing them to the Elohist—are now said to be the most recent, and ascribed to the Editor? No new sources of knowledge have been discovered to justify this change in the critical view, which is necessitated by the arguments brought forward in defence of the essential unity of the Pentateuch. How are we to judge, if once we admit the existence of 'glosses' and 'interpolations,' whether passages on which the present theories rest are original? The greater the number of critical writers becomes the more the divergence of opinion. Not being in accord as to the dates to be assigned to Elohist and Jehovahist, some regard the first as oldest and some the second. Some state that it is impossible to disentangle the two entirely; some say that parts of Leviticus are older than Deuteronomy; and single writers, like Wellhausen, have abandoned one view in favour of another within a few years. According to the evidence of the versions, there is only one verse (Num. x. 34) † out of place in the Pentateuch, yet some critics attempt to re-arrange sequence without any manuscript authority. We witness, in fact, a disintegration of the original theory, the abandonment of criteria once thought highly important, and the increasing belief that we possess in the Pentateuch a very late gathering together of ancient frag-

\* The words 'Book of the wars of Jehovah' are rendered differently in the Septuagint—'In the Book. The war of the Lord (was against Zaheb),' which is, however, grammatically difficult. In the same chapter (verse 27) is an allusion to ancient sayings or songs referring to the destruction of Hebron and Moab.

† In the Septuagint, verse 34 follows 36. The Hebrew text shows two marks opposite this verse, thought to indicate that it is out of place. Either order is possible.

ments, which were themselves often of composite origin, which work was corrupted later by copyists' errors, and by 'glosses.' Such a view is not supported by evidence of language, of manuscripts, or of versions, and it is not in accord with the belief of writers who are acknowledged to have lived before the Captivity.

The appeal is not to any modern discovery, but to critical observations often more than a century old. It is an appeal to repetitions and asserted contradictions which the editor left for our study, and to supposed differences of style as distinguishing various writers of various ages. Such arguments need to be closely followed, and to be examined by aid of the Hebrew and other versions; but no student should be content to accept the results without knowing the basis of the theory.\*

As regards repetitions it was observed by Astruc, in the time of Voltaire, that certain narratives in Genesis, marked by the exclusive use of the word Elohim or Jehovah, appear to be parallel. The most striking case is that of Hagar's flight from Sarah (Gen. xvi.-xxi.). In the one case the flight occurs however before the birth of Ishmael, and in the other after he was born, and the scene is not of necessity the same in the two accounts. There is no reason why Hagar should not have fled twice from her mistress, and it is remarkable that the word Elohim occurs in the first chapter as well as Jehovah, and the word Jehovah (in a supposed interpolation) in the second account. As regards all the other passages it may fairly be said that either they are not strictly repetitions at all, or that they are enlargements of the nature of a commentary

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\* The Book of Joshua is purposely excluded from this consideration. The theory that its narrative once formed part of a Hexateuch is contrary to all that is known of ancient divisions of Hebrew literature; the Torah stood apart in 250 B.C., and was accepted as a distinct work by the Samaritans. The Book of Joshua is more closely connected with Judges than with Deuteronomy. Many critical arguments as to the Law rest on the supposed evidence of the Book of Joshua, which includes notices belonging to the age of Rehoboam.

on the main stock of the narrative.\* Any reader who attentively studies the subject will see that this is the case, and will observe cases in which the two names occur in a clearly single narrative, as well as combined in the term Jehovah-Elohim. The original distinction has therefore been in a measure abandoned by the latest critics, who suppose the editor also to use the term Elohim in Genesis—as a rule but with exceptions.† The word is also used in Judges and Samuel, where it has not been regarded as distinctive; and it occurs in much later books. The most remarkable repetition in the whole Pentateuch is that of the ordering and making of the Tabernacle and its furniture (Exod. xxv.-xxxi., and xxxvi.-xxxix.,) yet both these long accounts are attributed to the Priestly Editor. Any scholar acquainted with monumental records must admit that repetition is a frequent feature of ancient Oriental literature, even in cases when it is impossible to ascribe the writing on a large tablet, or on a statue, to more than one author.

Contradiction is a much more important argument than repetition, or than discontinuity of narrative such as marks the monumental narratives, or the Surahs of the Koran, quite as much as the Pentateuch; but it is necessary in each case that the contradiction should be proved to be important and original. If it merely consists in a somewhat different statement of small details, or in an expansion or shortening, it

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\* Gen. ii. cannot be fairly said to contradict Gen. i. It is a supplementary account of what occurred at the Creation, just as the passage (Gen. vii. 1-10) on clean beasts is supplementary to the general statement. Repetitions of a most remarkable character may be studied in the letters of King Dusratta, of Ribadda, and others in the Tell el Amarna tablets, and in the early texts of Samala, in which cases dual authorship is impossible to suppose.

† Gen. xvii. 1; xxi. 1. The sacred name is supposed not to be used before the first visit of Moses to Sinai (Exod. vi. 3), but the passage in question is capable of being rendered 'Did not I make Myself known to them' (by My name Jehovah): while, according to an earlier passage (Gen. iv. 26) the name of Jehovah was in use from the earliest times. The editor who left this passage intact would not have been under any artificial obligation to change his style after Exodus vi.

cannot be said to be conclusive evidence of dual authorship. The Book of Deuteronomy is an impassioned summary of those that precede it—including passages only found elsewhere in Leviticus. It expands and dwells upon the more important points, and passes over those which are foreign to its general subject; but it is very difficult to prove that it contradicts at all, though it adds original matter. The contrasts drawn are often based on very small variations of statement; and in some cases the subject is not the same. It is not very important that the word rendered ‘cheek’ in one passage (Deut. xviii. 3) should be different from that rendered ‘breast’ in another (Levit. vii. 32-34), nor could such an instance be thought sufficient to prove a difference of historic periods. It is argued that the Levitical Laws were not observed in the times of the Kings of Judah, but this does not of course prove their non-existence in the lost Torah. They were not generally observed in the time of Ezra, nor at any historic period could they have been enforced on the whole scattered population. In the time of Joshua there was already some divergence of practice, and in the days of the Judges men did what ‘was right in their own eyes.’ It is certain that Ezekiel—a priest intent on ritual—was much influenced by Leviticus, but this is not supposed by critics to prove the non-existence of Deuteronomy. Jeremiah is equally influenced by the impassioned style of Deuteronomy, which appealed to his own character, but this cannot fairly be held to prove the non-existence of the Book of Leviticus—the argument from silence must always be weak.\*

We come, therefore, to the original arguments, which are retained by recent critics, but which belong to the older school, namely, to the questions of the Central Sanctuary, and of the position of the Levites at different periods. It is argued that the laws supposed to be earliest (Exod. xx. 24) allow Israel to

\* There are parallels in Jeremiah with all parts of the Torah including some regarded as late. The ‘defiled land’ (Jer. ii. 7; Num. xxxv. 33-34), the ‘thanksgiving’ (Jer. xxxiii. 11; Levit. vii. 12), as a sacrifice, and ‘sin against souls’ (Jer. xliv. 7; Num. xvi. 7) might be regarded as equally distinctive with other expressions pointed out by critics.

meet in various shrines, but that in Deuteronomy (xii. 13, 14) a single shrine alone is sanctioned; and that the later editor, while preserving the contradiction, tacitly supposes a single temple. Jewish commentators have long explained that the first passage alludes to the successive sanctuaries\* at Gilgal, at Shiloh, at Nob and Gibeon (perhaps the same place), and at Kirjath Jearim, which were abandoned for reasons historically known. It is certain that Jerusalem is never mentioned in the Pentateuch, nor does the word 'temple' occur. It is also clear that the passage in Exodus does not state that the 'places' or sanctuaries were to be contemporary. Israel had its centre on its journeys wherever the Ark rested, and it is clear that a central sanctuary was more easily maintained when the tribes were marching together than when they were spread over the whole of Palestine. In Deuteronomy exemption is granted to those who were too far off (xii. 21), but the practice of pilgrimage to the central shrine is noticed as early as the time of Eli (1 Sam. i. 3), while it fell into disuse on the separation of Israel and Judah, and was only partly reinforced after the captivity of Israel (2 Kings, xxiii. 21). The supposed contradiction seems, therefore, to rest on the strained reading of a single sentence, and to be out of accord with probability and historical statement.

It is argued again that in Deuteronomy the Levite is the priest resident in each village, but that in a later age he is degraded to the position of a minister attending on the sons of Aaron, who alone are priests, and granted a large property in

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\* Bethel, which was a sacred 'place' (*Makom*) in the time of Abraham and Jacob, was also the gathering place of Israel against Benjamin where sacrifices were offered. In Samuel's time it was also a place to which journeys were made to offer sacrifice, and one of the three 'places' where Samuel himself did justice—the others being Gilgal and Mispeh. The practice of the age of the Judges is no guide, since the nation was disorganised. In Samuel's time, Shiloh being deserted and the ark taken to Philistia, the central sanctuary was also for a time lost, till re-established at Jerusalem. But the earliest centre, according to Deuteronomy and Joshua, appears to have been at Shechem, before Shiloh was selected. Bethel became one of the two shrines of Northern Israel from Jeroboam's days, and the scene of calf worship, and even of human sacrifice.

land round separate cities; yet in Deuteronomy Aaron and Eliezer are mentioned as priests (x. 6, 8) with Levites as ministers, and Aaron is called a Levite in the older narrative (Exod. iv. 14). The term 'The priests, the Levites' is used not only in early writings but also very late (2 Chron. v. 5) and the Levites are noticed even in Deuteronomy as possessing a patrimony\* and as coming to the central sanctuary to minister (xviii. 6-8). The fact was that all priests were Levites, though all Levites were not priests. The case in which a Levite engaged in idolatrous worship (Judges, xvii.) proves nothing in an age when men did what was right in their own eyes. In Ezekiel such Levites are excluded from the sanctuary (xliv. 10-16), but the prohibition applies only to those who had served as priests of the high places.† It seems impossible to draw the sharp distinction proposed as marking the customs of different ages as recorded by different writers. If the Levites both lived in the various cities of Israel, and also went up with Israel to the central shrine, it is still not impossible that special cities may, from the first, have been assigned to them as property. Men do not always live on their property, but the possession of property by priests was a very ancient right in Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 26), as we know from inscriptions. The arrangements described by Ezekiel (xlvi.) would have concentrated all Levi round Jerusalem, and the Levitical cities are not noticed by the prophet. Nor are they detailed in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 36), while two out of the forty-eight are noticed—Bethshemesh (Joshua xxi. 2) as inhabited by Levites in Samuel's time, (1 Sam. vi. 15),‡ and Anathoth (Joshua, xxi. 18) as a priests' city in David's time (1 Kings, ii. 26; cf. Jer. i. 1).

How then are we to reconcile the isolated position of the Levite 'within the gates' (as in Deuteronomy) with his possession of property? It seems probable that the answer is to be

\* The term 'patrimony' is rendered by some translators 'Sellings by (or before) the fathers,' which is also the marginal rendering. But this term has no intelligible meaning.

† See also 2 Kings, xxiii. 9.

‡ Asserted on insufficient grounds by Wellhausen to be an interpolation.

found in the present constitution of the Dervish orders in the East. Levi signifies a 'band' or order, over which the chief priest ruled (Num. iii. 32, iv. 3). They were distributed in towns and villages to teach the Law (Deut. xxxiii. 10), much as the Dervishes are now distributed singly over Palestine. Yet these modern Levites, who receive portions from the villagers, belong to powerful orders, which possess property and central monasteries to which the single brethren at times resort; and at the feasts when they assemble at Jerusalem they may be seen gathered together under the banner of their chief, each order being named after its founder, as the Levites were named from a son of Jacob. Such a parallel seems to show that it is not difficult to reconcile the various statements as to the Levites in the Pentateuch.

A further critical appeal is made to style\* and language in the Pentateuch, yet surely there is nothing more illusory than literary style. It depends on the subject, and on the impulse of the moment. An Assyrian scribe will turn from a dry category of defeated tribes to a poetical description of rugged mountains within a few lines of the cylinder. It is difficult to believe that the same Muhammad wrote the short ejaculations of the earliest Suras and the long legal passages set down at Medina. Tennyson in 'Crossing the Bar' and in the 'Northern Farmer,' is hardly recognisable as the same writer. Is it not possible that the poetical outbursts of Deuteronomy might come from the same pen that detailed the rites in Leviticus? Especially as a passage in the more impassioned style occurs in the latter book (xxvi.),† yet has been attributed to a Priestly Editor. Style in all literature rises and falls with its

\* Canon Driver (Introduction, p. 7) says that the style of P. is 'precise,' but also (p. 56) 'diffuse,' and that 'stylistic criteria alone would not generally suffice to distinguish J. and E.' (p. 118).

+ Canon Driver attributes this chapter to H., a writer who, though independent of P., and supposed to be known to Ezekiel, is yet supposed to have lived at a late period. There are 17 passages in the chapter parallel to others in Deuteronomy (see verse 19 and Deut. xxviii. 23, for a striking instance). References to exile occur (verses 34, 38, 44), but, as noticed later, foreign invasions of Palestine occurred at a very early period.

subject, and differs within the lifetime of the author. Out of the expressions said to distinguish the later priestly editor, eight at least are found in characteristic passages of Deuteronomy, and the rest occur in other parts of the Pentateuch, which are accordingly assigned to the later writer through the exigencies of the theory, which thus more and more forces its adherents to split up the documents, even when the context is thus injured, and the fragments are left imperfect. The occurrence of special words for certain rites or sacrifices cannot be expected in passages which treat of other subjects. The use of two forms of the first personal pronoun, of which the longer and more emphatic is naturally used in Deuteronomy, and the shorter in Leviticus, is not supposed even by critics to be a safe criterion of authorship; and the longer form was in use, as we know monumentally, both as early as the 16th century B.C., and as late as the 3rd. The shorter is used 138 times by Ezekiel, but he also uses the longer once. The shorter also occurs eight times in Deuteronomy, and the longer in a passage attributed to the priestly editor (Gen. xxiii. 4). All that can be said certainly is that the language of the Pentateuch is pure Hebrew, such as is found in the earlier prophets, and that it is not the language of books known to be written after the Captivity.\*

\* The fact that phrases attributed to the editor occur in the narrative of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, obliges the critic to attribute these also to him, and to suppose a later 'framework' in other books, such as Joshua, Judges, and Samuel. But the date of such narratives must be judged on other considerations besides style, and it is impossible to separate the legal chapters from others by language—which militates against the theory rather than supporting it. The phrases attributed to P. also often occur in Deuteronomy, in Jeremiah, in Hosea, in Kings, and in parts of the Pentateuch admitted to be ancient, as well as in later writers. Some passages in Genesis are supposed to be late only because of the use of words attributed to P., as for instance the verb 'to swarm' (Gen. i. 20-21; vii. 21; viii. 17; Exod. vii. 28; see also Deut. xiv. 19), which is used in Leviticus and by Ezekiel. Some words, such as *Sabaoth* 'hosts,' *Nasi*, 'prince,' *Elohim*, 'God,' *Mad Mad* for 'exceedingly,' are known monumentally, in Canaanite and Assyrian, as early as the Exodus. In the later Hebrew books occur many terms not used in the Pentateuch, and among those found in Ezra and Nehemiah may be noticed *Beth-ha-Elohim*,

The historical allusions in the Pentateuch are only supposed to show that it dates later than the time of Moses. There is no mention of the Temple or of Jerusalem, no allusion to Tirzah or Samaria. The Song of Moses, and the Blessings of Jacob and Moses, represent Israel as united not as divided, as triumphant not as in captivity. The rites and customs in Leviticus are often as archaic as those in the 'Book of the Covenant,' and references to wizards, to Moloch, to the Canaanite high places, and to the Kodeshōth or temple women, connect these laws with the age which preceded the Captivity. It would not have been difficult, even for ordinary human intelligence, to foresee that Israel would require a king (Deut. xvii.), for the 'Kings of Canaan' are mentioned in a tablet which dates as early as 1450 B.C.\* The famous passage as to the Kings of Edom, who reigned 'before there was any King in Israel' (Gen. xxxvi. 31), might be supposed to be a 'gloss,' quite as well as any other short sentence regarded as such by critical writers.† If we could be sure that the Agag mentioned (Num., xxiv. 7) was the Agag of Samuel's time (1 Sam., xv. 32), or the Hadad of Edom (Gen., xxxvi. 39), David's contemporary (1 K., xi. 21), these would be valuable indications of date; but such names were dynastic, just like Amenophis or Rameses in Egypt, Tiglath Pileser or Shalmaneser in Assyria, and Jabin in Canaan, so that we are still left in doubt. The mention of Shiloh would be valuable (Gen., xl ix. 10) if the versions agreed as to the translation. The

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'house of God,' and terms meaning 'to prepare,' 'to receive,' 'joy' (as in Aramaic and Assyrian), 'guilt' (which is known in Aramaic of the 8th century B.C.) and others. There are also differences of syntax, and in the use of prepositions, found in these books which do not occur in the Pentateuch. The tendency of later writers would be to follow the classic language of the earlier sacred books; for which reason the non-use of later terms and forms in the Pentateuch is more important than the use of Pentateuch phrases by the later writers.

\* Samuel wrote the 'manner of the Kingdom' in a Book (1 Sam., x. 25). The language of the Book of Samuel, like that of Joshua, often recalls Deuteronomy. Some scholars read 'the book' for 'a book.'

† Moses himself is called a King (Deut., xxxiii. 5), and the term means 'one who leads' or 'advises.'

notice of Dan (Gen., xiv. 14; Deut., xxxiv. 1) before it was so named in the time of the Judges (Judg., xviii. 29) would be valuable if we were not told that ‘glosses’ occur in the text. The term ‘Land of Rameses’ cannot be held to date the Exodus, as some writers assert, for it occurs as early as Jacob’s time (Gen., xlvi. 18; Ex., xii. 37), but it might indicate that the author lived in the time of the Ramessid dynasty. Taking all these indications together, we find none which indicate a later age than that of Samuel. We are told in the history of Saul that he fulfilled certain duties laid down in the Torah, in the case of Amalek, of the witches, and of not eating blood; and that the shewbread and Ephod, the Urim (according to the Septuagint) and Thummim, which were not known after the Captivity (Ezra, ii. 63), existed in his time. The author of Kings tells us that the Tabernacle survived to David’s time (1 K., ii. 28), as well as the Ark and Altar, but it disappears from later history. There are, on the other hand, rites and classes mentioned after the Captivity which are unnoticed in the Torah, especially the Nethenim porters and singers, the wood offering, and the name Satan. We seek in vain, therefore, for the conclusive evidence of large additions made to the Pentateuch during or after the Captivity, referring to priestly rules and rights at a time when the Temple was in ruins, the Ark and the Ephod lost, and the priests and Levites captives, without power or wealth.

The fact is that the critical view is based on the scepticism of the eighteenth century, which believed in no Oriental civilisation earlier than the Persian age, and which was ignorant of the monumental history of Egypt and Assyria, not then recovered. This scepticism regarded the Pentateuch as the unhistoric and dishonest production of priests, written for personal aims and by no means inspired; and it pointed to the legendary character of the narratives as an indication of later date, and to the difficulties in numbers as shewing the falsehood of the history. Even from a purely human standpoint none of these suspicions are justified. We know how widespread was the civilisation of Asia—including Palestine—in the age of Moses. We know that throughout the Old Testament the versions

differ more as to numerals than as to anything else : hundreds are often added to units in one manuscript, which do not occur in another. The ancient scribes of Tell el Amarna, and of the Phœnician monuments, used numerals instead of writing the numbers in full, and such signs are easily miscopied, and have certainly been miscopied in the Book of Genesis, where Hebrew, Greek and Samaritan numbers differ. Finally the sudden origin of marvellous tales, relating to living men, is known to the traveller to be so common in the East, that it is unnecessary, even from a rationalistic standpoint, to suppose that such narratives require the lapse of ages for acceptance.

On the other hand, we have no statement in the Pentateuch which definitely ascribes the whole of it to Moses. He is never said, for instance, to have written Genesis, or the account of his own death, or any passage in which he is mentioned in the third person. He is only definitely said to have written down the Law—the Book of the Covenant (*Exod. xxiv. 7—xxxii. 32*, see *Exod. xxiv. 4*) and the subsequent repetition of the Ten Commandments (*Exod. xxxiv. 27*) with the list of Stations in the Desert (*Num. xxxiii. 2*) and the Song (*Deut. xxxii. Cf. xxxi. 21*.) To him is ascribed the written curse on Amalek (*Ex. xvii. 14*) and the Law of the seventh year (*Deut. xxxi. 9*). These Laws were preserved as a book in the Ark (*Deut. xxxi. 26*), but we are left at liberty to suppose that others, mentioned rather as oral than as written, were not put down in their present form until later; and that the narrative of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, was due to a writer, or to writers, who speak of the greatness (*Ex. xi. 3*) and humility (*Num. xii. 3*) of Moses, and of his death (*Deut. xxxiv. 5*); and whose expression ‘unto this day’ seems to point (*Deut. xxxiv. 6*) to a considerable lapse of time. It may nevertheless be confidently stated that the theory of an editing and re-editing of excerpts, without any quotation of authority, by a priest of the time of the Captivity, who disregarded the injunction of Deuteronomy, and both added to and altered the Law, is a theory which rests on no secure basis, and which produces an impossible result, in the patchwork ascribed to E.J.D<sub>1</sub> D<sub>2</sub> H. P<sub>1</sub> P<sub>2</sub>, with glosses, interpolations, and independent ‘sources,’

which will hereafter be regarded as a curiosity of misdirected and sometimes perverse ingenuity. We possess ancient statutes which are said to have been written by Moses; and as far as any historic indications can be discovered, the whole Pentateuch may have existed, in its present form, in the time of Samuel and of David, before the building of Solomon's Temple.

We turn then to consider, from an archæological point of view, whether the various indications in the Pentateuch as to writing and art, metals, precious stones, general civilisation and law: the making of an ark and tabernacle: the notice of various beasts and birds and vegetables, of horses and chariots, of trade caravans, of the import of foreign spices, of ships, and commerce, of Canaanite religion and monuments, of geography, ethnology, and language, of foreign history in Assyria and in Egypt, and of a calendar, could have represented the state of the world in the time of Moses; and also whether later indications of language and of civilisation are absent, the presence of which would betray anachronism. Such an enquiry has only become possible of late, through the accumulation of monumental information, and the answer must be that there is no statement, historic, ethnological, or antiquarian, in the Pentateuch which obliges us to look to later times than those of Samuel at latest, and that the civilisation supposed did actually exist in Palestine itself in the days of Moses himself.

As regards writing we know that it was in use in Chaldea and in Egypt as early as 2500 B.C., and we have now positive proof, in the Tell el Amarna letters, that there were Canaanite scribes about the time of Moses or earlier, who wrote on clay tablets in the cuneiform character. It is probable therefore that writing was known to the Israelites in this same age,\*

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\* This writing would not be alphabetic. The alphabet is as yet not known earlier than 900 B.C. It might be conjectured that the differences in certain personal names are due to their having been written with ideograms in the original. Thus in the Tell el Amarna tablets the reading of personal names is often doubtful because of this practice: *Abi-meleg* may be *Abi-sar* and so on. The case of *Ishbaal*—called also *Ishyo* and *Ishbosheth*, and others, might be explained by the occurrence of an ideogram for 'God,' which different students read *Baal*, *Bosheth*, (the

and the material used was not always clay, for the ancient inscribed statues of Tell Loh are of hard Sinaitic granite. The commandments are said to have been written on both sides of two stone tablets (Exod. xxxii. 15), and we find the ancient tablets still extant to be usually so written on both sides. The ten commandments might easily have been transcribed on two tablets not more than six inches square each, such as are used for the Canaanite letters. The use of papyrus and of leather for scrolls in Egypt is however older than the time of Moses. The antiquity of the arts is equally proved by extant remains, and by the historic inscriptions of Thothmes III., who reigned before the Exodus. Among the spoils which he took at Megiddo, and elsewhere in Palestine, are enumerated golden vessels and dishes, a Phoenician double-handled vase, statues with heads of gold, sceptres of ivory, ebony, and cedar inlaid with gold, thrones with footstools of ivory and ebony, tables of cedar inlaid with gold, gems, a double-handled cup carved with a bull's head, another vase of silver with a gold lid inlaid with 'blue-stone,' and dishes carved with heads of goats and of lions. On the accompanying pictures some of these art objects are portrayed, being of gold, silver, and bronze, with elegant shapes, and often with *repoussé* patterns. They resemble the work of the Phoenicians and Assyrians in the same catalogues; and about 1500 B.C. we have long lists of women's ornaments,\* thrones, litters, and chariots, sent from Syria, Babylon, and Armenia to Egypt. The precious metals gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, bronze, and iron were all known in this early age. The mention of iron in the Pentateuch (Deut. viii. 9)† has been suspected as an anachronism, but in the

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Phœnician and Egyptian Bast) and *Yehu*. Perhaps the name of Moses' father-in-law was also doubtful for this reason. In cuneiform writing the true reading can only be made certain by variant signs or by syllabic spellings.

\* See Gen. xxiv.

+ The notice of mines in this passage must be supposed to refer to the Lebanon. Palestine proper does not appear to have ever possessed them, but the Phœnicians mined for copper and tin in their mountains. The limits of the land of Israel in the Pentateuch include part of the Lebanon, which was not finally conquered till the time of David.

ruins of Lachish, side by side with copper and bronze, iron implements have been discovered on the same level with seals of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty. As regards precious stones (Exod. xxviii. 17-20) the exact meaning of the Hebrew words is not always known, but we have monumental notice of carved gems of agate, amethyst, and jade, together with extant carved signets in the British Museum of all these stones, and of topaz and lapis lazuli, crystal, haematite, carnelion and chalcedony; and such carved gems occur in the ruins of Lachish at a very early period. An onyx which belonged to Kurigalzu the King of Babylon, who reigned about the time of the Exodus, is among the few which are dated by any historic name. A breast plate which must have greatly resembled that worn by the High Priest has been found in an Etruscan tomb in Italy.

As regards civilisation in Canaan the monumental records from 1600 to 1400 B.C., attest the existence of walled towns, with temples full of treasure, of fleets on the Mediterranean both in Phoenicia and near Joppa, of chariots and horses, and tents with pillars of iron and gold, of statues and painted decorations, of skilled joiner's work (like that of Queen Hatasu's chair from Egypt, now in the British Museum), and of trade in copper with Asia Minor. Ivory was well known, and even apes were exported to Egypt. There are notices of large wheat harvests in Palestine in 1600 B.C., and of wheat sent in ships, of wine and oil and honey, of horses, camels, asses, sheep, goats, and cows, also of woven stuffs of various colours, armour of iron and bronze; bows, spears, shields and swords, leather coats with bronze scales, and various robes, rings and weights, used as money, and even official passports signed with a royal cylinder seal: balsam and fruits are enumerated, and many kinds of precious woods; while weapons of flint are noticed which recall those actually found at Lachish. It has been placed beyond dispute that the whole of Canaan was civilised several centuries before the earliest date given for the Exodus.

Laws and treaties were equally ancient. We have an Akkadian tablet which inculcates the duty of honouring father

and mother, and which orders heavy punishments for the disobedient son. In the treaty made by Rameses II. with the Hittites (about 1320 B.C.), it is stipulated, as in Deuteronomy (xxiv. 16.), that a man's kin may not be punished for his offence. Extradition of fugitives is also twice noticed in the Tell el Amarna tablets, and slaves are frequently mentioned on the monuments. The duty of sacrifice is quite as clearly expressed ; and religious tablets from Asia are preserved with the letters of the fifteenth century B.C. Boundaries were drawn by agreement between Kings, and political negotiations connected Egypt with Babylon, whose King refused to ally himself to the Canaanites when they meditated rebellion. The organisation of Canaan, under native chiefs and Egyptian residents, with forces of chariots stationed at central points, was complete, and the official form of report or of royal letters was stereotyped by custom. At all the 'resting-places' on his march, Thothmes III. levied regular rations from the inhabitants of Palestine, of bread, oil, palm, wine, honey, and fruit ; and in the Tell el Amarna tablets these customary rations include also meat and fowls.

Critical writers admit that there may have been an ark and a tent or tabernacle in the wilderness; and on the same monumental grounds the making of shewbread at this early period may be admitted to be probable. Portable arks were early used in Egypt, and they were used by the Babylonians and Phœnicians. The records of Thothmes III., about 1600 B.C., notice a tent of the King of Megiddo, seized in his camp, which had seven poles covered with plates of gold ; and in another case the pillars were of iron. The enormous leather tent of Queen Hatasu has actually been discovered in Upper Egypt. The Egyptians offered to Osiris *mest* cakes at the New Year, similar to the *mazzoth* or unleavened cakes of the Hebrews; and these are pictured piled up on a table before the image.

The natural history of the Pentateuch is worthy of careful study. The Hebrew names of birds and beasts are usually quite different from those employed in Assyria, with exception of such animals as the camel and the horse. The lion is

mouimentally noticed in Syria as late as 1320 B.C., and the *Reem* or wild bull ('unicorn' of the Greek translation) was hunted in the Lebanon as late as 1120 B.C. Among other mammals (Levit. xi. and Deut. xiv.) the coney or hyrax is a desert animal, and so is the wild goat or ibex, and the wild ox or bubale. The fallow deer and roebuck might be found in the woods of Gilead, where the latter still survives, the former being now only known in the Tabor oak forest. Among birds the ostrich (mistranslated 'owl' in Deuteronomy xiv. 15) also belongs to the Syrian desert. The pelican is common in the Mediterranean, and on the waters of Merom. The stork, the heron, and the quail, are found in the Jordan valley and the desert. The cormorant (Hebrew *shalak* or 'diver') is a sea bird, as is also the gull. The hoopoe (rendered lapwing in the English version) occurs in the Transjordanic woods; and the only bird among these whose name occurs in Assyrian lists is the *anpatu* or long-beaked water bird, which appears to be a 'heron.' There is nothing therefore in such a list to point to Assyria, where the desert animals and sea birds would be unknown; and the general habitat of this fauna is found in Gilead, in the Jordan valley, in the southern deserts, and on the sea coast.\*

The botany of the Pentateuch is equally indicative of antiquity. Corn, wine, and oil were early products of Palestine, and the honey of the wild bee which still is found. The vine grows wild in Western Asia: the apple is still not unknown in Syria: the almond is native: and the pistacio nuts† such as Jacob sent to Egypt (Gen. xlivi. 2). Hyssop is still used for sprinkling, and grows wild. Balm is early noticed on the monuments. Manna is still found in the Sinaitic desert.

\* The word *tachas*, rendered 'badger,' is generally allowed to represent a sea mammal, either some kind of porpoise such as are found in the Red Sea or Mediterranean, or a 'seal.' The latter is noticed in the Talmud, and though rare in the Mediterranean has been found off the coast of Palestine recently.

† A later word for 'walnuts' supposed to be Persian, occurs in the later Hebrew, but not in the Pentateuch. There is no Hebrew word for 'peach,' a fruit now known in Palestine.

'Spicer,' the gum of the mock orange, or *styrax* (Gen. xxxvii. 25) is noticed about 1500 B.C., and the bush is commonly found wild in Palestine. According to some writers, however, the *astragalus* is intended, and the *styrax* identified with *stacti*. The pomegranate was early cultivated in Egypt, and is represented on monuments. Myrrh is a product of the Arabian desert; and calamus and cassia (Ezek. xxvii. 19) came either from Ionia, or from Uzal in Arabia (according to the Septuagint version). There was already, however, a maritime trade between Egypt and Asia Minor in the fifteenth century B.C., and Akkadian ships coasting round Arabia are noticed ten centuries earlier. It is unnecessary, therefore, to regard these products as being unknown to the Hebrews before the later times of Phœnecian trade during the captivity.

While considering this subject it should be noticed that there is no mention of mules in the Pentateuch.\* Such breeding was contrary to the law, but the Assyrian sculptures, in later times, give figures of mules, and they are noticed in later books of the Bible (Ezek. xxvii. 14; Zech. xiv. 15). Nor are domestic fowls noticed, though known in Palestine in the time of Christ, and represented on cylinders of the Persian period.† There is no mention of the citron, which is native to Media, but which was only known in the Persian period in Palestine. Cotton (Esther, i. 6) and silk (Ezek. xvi. 10) are alike unnoticed in the Torah, but occur in later books; while flax, one of the most ancient materials in Asia and in Europe, is so noticed. The cochineal insect ('crimson,' Isaiah, i. 18) may early have supplied a dye, for it is found on the leaves of the Syrian oak; and the purple dye from the *galbanum* or operculum of the

\* The word rendered mules (Gen. xxxvi. 24) is properly translated 'hot springs.' Mules are noticed in Sennacherib's text as taken from Hezekiah in 702 B.C.

† Fowls were unknown to the Greeks before the Persian period. They do not occur in the lake dwellings of ancient Switzerland. They were unknown to the Egyptians. They are shown on the Harpy Tomb in Lycia about 600-500 B.C. They were sacrificed by the Persians, and appear to have been known early in China (Darwin, *Animals and Plants under Domestication*, I. p. 246).

shellfish used at Tyre may date back to any age, since it is found all along the Palestine coast, as is the yellow crocus or saffron, and the orange-coloured henna, and kohel for blackening the eyes.

The Hebrews do not appear to have used horses before the time of Solomon, but the Canaanites had horses and chariots, which are noticed monumentally between 1700 and 1400 B.C. as well as later. The Egyptians also had chariots long before the Exodus. Trading caravans, such as led Joseph to Egypt, are noticed in the fifteenth century B.C. in Palestine, and ships on the Syrian coasts as early as 1600 B.C. There is no apparent anachronism, therefore, in their being noticed in the Pentateuch (Gen. xlix. 13; Num. xxiv. 24). The Cyprian ships, prophesied of by Balaam, already existed in 1200 B.C.; and not only war vessels but trading ships from Asia Minor are noticed in the Tell el Amarna texts of the fifteenth century B.C. Some trade products, such as ivory, ebony, and apes, are indeed found mentioned in the early records which are not mentioned in the Pentateuch, but in these cases it is in Northern Syria, not in Palestine itself, that they are noticed.

The Canaanite religion appears to have resembled that of surrounding nations. Among the names of gods noticed in the Torah, Baal and Ashtoreth occur on very early monuments, as does the *Asherah* or 'grove'—a goddess whose image appears to have been a wooden pole that could be cut down. This goddess is mentioned, with Baalath and Dagon, in the Tell el Amarna letters, and she was worshipped, as we there learn, by the Amorites. The 'pillars' and 'altars' of the Canaanites, Israel was commanded to overthrow. There can be little doubt that these are represented by the rude stone monuments which are so numerous beyond Jordan, and of which a few are found in Galilee, especially at the source of the Jordan, near Dan. No one who has seen the Moabite monuments can suppose that they were ever sepulchral. Some of these rude stone altars, with blood channels on the capstones, are found on the slopes of Pisgah, where Balak is said to have built seven altars (Num., xxiii. 14), but there is not a single example standing in Judea or in Samaria, so that the commands of the

Torah appear to have been carried out. Nor have any sculptures, such as occur in Syria, been discovered in Palestine. They either were never carved on its rocks, or they have been destroyed. The only images of Canaanite times are certain *teraphim*, or small doll-like statues in bronze, which have been unearthed in the lower strata of the Lachish ruins.

Turning to questions of geography, ethnology, and history, the testimony due to exploration is equally instructive. The geography of the Pentateuch presents neither anachronisms nor improbabilities. The original home of man is placed in the Armenian highlands, which appear to have been the actual cradle of Asiatic races, not only in the traditional belief of Persians, Mongols, and others, but also according to monumental and linguistic evidence. The conquest of Assyria by the Babylonians (Gen., x. 11) is in accordance with historic data, as are the conquests of Eriaku and Ammurapaltu (Arioch and Amraphel, (Gen. xiv.) west of the Euphrates about 2100 B.C. The regions known to the writer of Genesis (x) were known to the Canaanites in 1500 B.C., and to the Egyptians, including Arabia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Asia Minor. The history of Elam is traced back to 2500 B.C. Among the important cities known to have existed in 1700 B.C., are many mentioned in the Pentateuch, such as Hamath, Arvad, Arka, Gebal, Zemar, Sidon, Gaza, Damascus, Ashtaroth, and Dothan. The land of Hobah (Gen., xiv. 15), north of Damascus, and of Ham (verse 5) in Bashan, are mentioned monumentally in the 15th century B.C. Shinar, Naharaim, and Canaan are equally ancient geographical terms. The Amorites and the Hittites are noticed quite as early in Syria, and the Philistines by name in 1200 B.C., and their god Dagon at Ascalon before 1450 B.C. The erection of great towers, built with bricks and pitch mortar (Gen., xi. 3) is traced in Chaldea to an age earlier than that of Abraham. A Hittite seal of high antiquity has been found at Lachish, not far west of Hebron (Gen., xxiii. 10). Harran (Gen., xxviii. 10) is also mentioned in the 15th century B.C., and of the cities noticed in the Book of Joshua, Jerusalem, Ajalon, Gezer, Lachish, Ascalon, Joppa, Gaza, Accho, Megiddo, and many others, are known to have been built before the

**Exodus.** About ninety towns which are noticed in early Hebrew books, are named on monuments between 1700 and 700 B.C.

Nor is there any difficulty in supposing that Israelite tribes may have lived for a generation in the oases of the Sinaitic desert. It still supports an Arab population of many thousands, who own camels, asses, flocks, and herds. We have a well known Egyptian picture of great antiquity, which represents thirty-seven Asiatics from Edom, bringing to Egypt an ibex such as is found only in the southern deserts, armed with lances, clubs, and bows, playing on a lyre, and driving asses before them like Joseph's brethren. They brought the 'paint for the eyes' made from the desert Kohel plant.

The list of stations (Num. xxxiii.) said to have been written down by Moses, represents a daily march of ten to fifteen miles across the desert, which is about the distance which an Arab tribe will now cover in a day's march. Among these the sites of Succoth, Sinai, Moseroth, Shapher, Gudgodah, Jotbathah, and Ezion Geber, are known, and Mount Hor and Kadesh Barnea fixed by Josephus near Petra: while on the way to Gilead, Dibon, and Nebo, are fixed points. A careful study shews that there is no discrepancy between this account and the scattered references in Deuteronomy, for Moseroth was evidently close to Mount Hor (Num. xxxiii. 30, 38; Deut. x. 6). After a journey of three months Sinai was reached, and Kadesh six months after the Exodus. The wanderings up and down the Arabah, between Petra and Elath, and over the downs immediately west near Gudgodah, terminated with the second visit to Kadesh, the unsuccessful attempt to invade Palestine from the south near Arad, and the detour round the Edomite Mountains of Petra. Supplies of water were to be found, at distances of a day's march, all along these routes. The overrunning of Gilead and Bashan in five months—an advance of less than 100 miles—was not as arduous a campaign as were many annually undertaken by Assyrians or Egyptians, who fought their way 600 or 700 miles within a year.

As regards ethnology the 'fair race' of Asia Minor (Japhet) was known to the Egyptians before 1300 B.C. Monumental

texts and sculptures prove that the Hittites, the Akkadians, and probably the Hyksos in Egypt, all belonged to the Mongolic race. They are assigned to a single stock in Genesis (x. 6): but the Amorites are included in this list, and the Tell el Amarna tablets shew that they were a Semitic people, and spoke an Aramaic language, which was the same used a thousand years later by Assyrians and Babylonians. This fixity of language—due to knowledge of literature and to the art of writing—is a valuable indication. All that we know monumentally as yet of Hebrew is that it is the same as that of the Prophets and of the Pentateuch; and that it differs as a dialect from the contemporary Moabite, Phoenician, and Syrian, and was distinct from the Canaanite Aramaic. In Genesis (xxx. 47) the language of Jacob is distinguished from the Aramaic of Harran beyond the Euphrates; and so slowly did Semitic languages change that we have no reason to doubt that the Laws of Exodus may represent the language of Moses; especially as there are grammatical peculiarities in the Pentateuch, not found in other Hebrew writings.\* It has been fiercely denied that these are archaic, but their presence has not been explained away, and they serve alike to witness the careful preservation of the text from a remote period, and the gradual change in Hebrew speech.

Our knowledge of history, due to monuments, is, of necessity,

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\* The best known instances are two. The word *Nar* is used for both feminine and masculine. The masculine of the 3rd personal pronoun singular is frequently used for the feminine, which only occurs eleven times in the Pentateuch. It is denied (Driver on Deuteronomy, § 13 in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, new edition, and quoting Delitzsch Gen. 1887, p. 27, f.) that this is an archaism, but it is certainly a peculiarity not found in later Hebrew. The distinction of gender is not an original feature of language, though a very early feature of Semitic speech. It is evident that such a peculiarity cannot have been introduced by later copyists, and (whether written *plene* or not) it has not been explained away. The Mongolic languages, which are in an earlier linguistic stage than the Aryan or the Semitic, have never distinguished gender. It might be conjectured that this peculiarity is due to Canaanite (Hittite) influence on Hebrew—just as Danish influenced the Anglo-Saxon inflections. But this would point to an early period.

fragmentary and incomplete, yet much has been recovered which agrees with the historic statements of the Pentateuch. It is certain that the Akkadian conquerors had crossed the Euphrates before the time of Abraham, and that they had reached Sinai and Egypt by the Red Sea. It is known that Amraphel (Ammurapaltu) was a great Babylonian conqueror, and that the eighteenth Dynasty expelled from Egypt the many Asiatic tribes which had there gathered during the Hyksos period. The notice of Assyria in Numbers (xxiv. 22) has been said to indicate a later date, but there is no reason for such an assumption. There is unfortunately a gap in the monumental history of Assyria between 1100 and 850 B.C., but we know that the Assyrians and Egyptians had met in 1600 B.C., and still corresponded with each other about 1400 B.C. The king of Mesopotamia oppressed Israel about the latter date, according to the book of Judges (iii. 10), and we know that, in 1150 B.C., Assur Risisi left a monument as far south as Beirut, and that Tiglath Pileser I. was hunting in the Lebanon in 1120 B.C. His daughter seems to have married Rameses XVI., and rather later the statue of Naromath, King of Assyria, was set up in Abydos, where he was buried, and where texts in his own language (still to be recovered) were inscribed. Assyrian invasions of Palestine may therefore be supposed to have occurred often in very early times. Finally the Tell el Amarna tablets inform us how, in the fifteenth century B.C., the Canaanites revolted from Egypt, and how a fierce people called the *Abiri* or *Habiri* attacked the Amorite king of Jerusalem, coming from Seir, fighting at Ajalon, conquering Gezer, Ascalon, Lachish, and Keilah—the very path of Joshua's first campaign. There is absolutely no monumental or historic reason why we should hesitate to identify these *Abiri* with the Hebrews.

In conclusion of this review of monumental history the question of the Calendar may for a moment be noticed. Only one month name occurs in the Pentateuch—that of Abib, the first spring month. According to the book of Kings the second month was called Zif (1 Kings, vi. 1), the seventh Ethanim (1 K. viii. 2) and the eighth Bul (1 K. vi. 38) in the time of Solomon. After the Captivity the Assyrian Calendar

was in use, and these four months were called Nisan, Iyar, Tisri, and Marchesvan. But the Assyrian Calendar was of immense antiquity, for the month names are traced back to 2100 B.C.; and on the other hand, the native Hebrew Calendar survived to a very late period in Phœnicia. The Cyprus inscriptions mention the months Bul and Ethanim in the Greek age, and we are thus led to conclude that the Calendar of the Pentateuch is not that of the time of the Captivity, but a native Hebrew Calendar of earlier times. The passages in which Abib is noticed (*Exod. xiii. 4; xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 18; Deut. xvi. 1*) are however attributed by critics to an early period.

Turning to consider specially the passages attributed by critical writers to the Priestly Editor, we may note that the story of Creation and of the Flood, so ascribed, were already ancient among the Assyrians in the seventh century B.C., though they are disfigured by many mythological additions. They appear to have been known yet earlier to the Akkadians, and the first has been recovered in the Akkadian language. The list of nations, as already remarked, bears evidence of great antiquity (*Gen. x.*); the story of the Cave of Machpelah does not represent a later but an early condition of civilisation: 'money,' in the shape of rings and weights, was used before Abraham's age; and the Hittites appear to have lived in the South till about 1600 B.C., when Thothmes III. defeated them at Megiddo and drove them back into Syria. There is so little indication of late date in any of the passages assigned to the Priestly Editor after the Captivity, that Wellhausen is obliged to suppose that he adopted purposely an assumed archaic style, to conceal his real age. But the existence of such an Editor has still to be proved. It is contrary to the spirit of ancient Oriental literature to edit. The production of Targums and Commentaries is very ancient, but the mutilation of early works, and the use of unacknowledged excerpts by later writers, are unproven. The Tell el Amarna scribes were careful to read over and correct their tablets before they were baked. The Assyrians certified that their copies of earlier documents were exact, and when such copies can be compared they are found to agree closely. They made translations of

Akkadian texts, and added glossaries and grammatical tablets to explain difficult words, and to illustrate the grammar of the ancient Non-Semitic tongue which they studied. The Egyptians added chapters from time to time to the Book of the Dead, and rubrics and glosses in the margin to explain it, which in the later times of decadence were confused with the text, which was however long preserved in its original purity. The Arabs, when shortly after Muhammad's death the authorised version of the Koran was published, made no attempt critically to edit the scattered leaves. The later Jews were most anxious to preserve the text of the Torah, and the evidence of versions and of grammatical forms shows how early this spirit of conscientious copying must have existed. Out of 250 words used in the first chapter of Genesis 80 are known, on monuments in Palestine and in Syria dating earlier than the Captivity; and the antiquity of Aramaic speech west of the Euphrates is abundantly proved by the texts of Samala (800 to 730 B.C.), while the oldest Canaanite language proves to be the same indicated by the town names of the lists of Thothmes III.

On the evidence afforded by Deuteronomy there is absolutely no reason to regard references to Aaron in Exodus as being later insertions, and as regards Deuteronomy itself it is difficult to suppose that a writer living after the time of Jeroboam should make Gerizim the 'Mount of Blessings' (xi. 29; xxvii. 12), and yet address himself to all Israel and pray for Judah as well as for Joseph (xxxiii. 7, 13). The list of desert stations is so easily followed on the ground (Num. xxxiii.) that we have no reason to regard it as a late insertion. There is absolutely no reason for regarding the laws of Leviticus as belonging to the period of the Captivity, because they appear to have been known to Ezekiel; and no allusions occur to late practices or events in this part of the Pentateuch, nor is the language that of Ezra's age.

Such views are due to fifteen years of study of the works of Ewald, Cclenso, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, and Canon Driver, leading to the conclusion that, even in those parts of the original theory in which they agree, there are

serious flaws in the argument, and that many important indications have been overlooked. The original critical theory has been examined in detail, by scholars not satisfied with its results, and in consequence of the criticism of criticism the later school have found it necessary to shift their ground, and to advocate a theory of editing, in place of a theory of independent documents. The indications of unity in the Pentateuch are too strong to be ignored by honest scholars; but to save the position this unity is assumed to be artificial. It has become more and more a critical necessity to split up the narratives, and to introduce new machinery, in the shape of supposed 'glosses,' 'interpolations,' and 'independent documents,' for which there is no documentary evidence. To save the fundamental dogma of the later editor it is supposed that his work must have been essentially dishonest: none have yet had the moral courage to dispense with a view which gradually leads to confusion. It results in a literature without any known parallel, in which scraps of various ages—often themselves composite—are supposed to have been patched together, and represented by the forger as an ancient and authentic work. It is impossible to suppose that a work like the Old Testament, remarkable for its literary power, its vivid and terse descriptions, its impassioned eloquence, its rich historical and antiquarian materials, and its noble religious thought, can have been produced by so inferior an order of men as those who, without conscience, or in the interests of a priestly caste, are thought to have imposed on the Jews a composite forgery claiming inspired origin.

A critical view which pointed out the passages said to have been written down by Moses, and which attributed to the School of the Prophets, in the days of Samuel and of David, the remaining books of which the authorship is not stated, would have met with less opposition, and would have been sufficient to account for all the historical allusions. But even these—few as they are—are uncertain, while the antiquity of literature in Palestine, and of the language of the Pentateuch, are certain. It is inevitable that, just as the Tübingen School of New Testament criticism has found it necessary to beat a

retreat, and to assign earlier dates than formerly to the Gospels, so will the present theory of the Pentateuch, already crumbling away under difficulties of its own creation, be replaced in time by views more moderate, and better founded on the increasing knowledge due to the discovery of new sources of contemporary information.

C. R. CONDER.

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#### ART. V.—'THE VISION OF TUNDALE.'

THE medieval visions of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, which reached their highest poetic expression in Dante's *Divina Commedia*, were a species of literature which had attained great popularity long before his day. The desire to form a vivid picture of the world after death, which prompted the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, or the myths of Plato in the *Gorgias* and *Republic*, was only intensified when Christianity succeeded to the old religion. Even into the less definite conceptions of the Greeks some idea of punishment for sin and reward for virtue had entered, and when in Christian thought Heaven and Hell became clearly separated, it was inevitable that lively imaginations should try to picture the probable state of existence in each. The indications in Scripture, whether of the Old or New Testament, were too meagre to satisfy the craving for detail which was characteristic of the middle ages, but they supplied good hints on which to proceed. 'Tophet with its pile of 'fire and much wood,' kindled by 'the breath of the Lord like a stream of brimstone,' the 'everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels,' 'the outer darkness,' with its 'weeping and gnashing of teeth,' were sufficient indications for one side of the picture; the Revelation of St. John supplied all that was necessary for the other. It is, in fact, with apocalyptic literature like the vision of St. Paul that the series of such works begins, and, if to this we add a Celtic imagination which was responsible for many

of the earlier accounts, we shall hardly be surprised at any extremes, however extravagant or grotesque.

The *Vision of Tundale*, coming a century and a half before the work of the Italian poet, was thus itself preceded by a number of similar productions, which no doubt suggested its general outlines, and even some of its separate details. Even supposing that Tundale, the narrator, and Marcus, the writer of the vision, were acting in all good faith, they could not help being influenced by earlier works of the same kind, which were especially popular in the English and Irish Church. The earliest of these, as indicated above, is apparently the *Visio Pauli*, originally a Greek work, of which the full Latin text has only recently been brought to light,\* but abbreviated Latin versions were made at some early period, and through these it came to be known in the west. Thus Ælfric refers to it in the opening of his homily on the vision of Furseus, as mentioned in the *St. Patrick's Purgatory* of Thomas Wright, who erroneously supposes it to have been 'perhaps a work of the twelfth century.' In these versions, besides the omission of the earlier chapters, an important alteration is made on the original text. There Paul is first taken to Heaven and afterwards to Hell; in the abridged copies the order is reversed, and the influence of this is seen in nearly all the subsequent visions down to Dante's. At the same time it is more natural that the privileged visitant of the other world should begin with the pains of the one place and end with the delights of the other. The vision of Furseus above referred to is also given at some length by Bede, following perhaps a legend printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*.† Our chief interest in this is that St. Furseus was of Irish origin, and that his vision, like that of Dryhthelm, also recorded by Bede,‡ is a thoroughly western product. The vision of Tundale is also that of an Irishman, and with one or two minor exceptions, comes next to these in point of time, although it falls as late as the middle of the twelfth century. In Italy, however, there is the vision of Alberic, attributed to

\* Printed in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*, Vol. II. No. 3. (1893.)

† Bede : *Eccles. Hist.* III. 19. *Acta Sanct.* Jan. ii. 399 ff.

‡ *Ibid.* V. 12.

the beginning of the same century, which is supposed to have influenced Dante more immediately than any other. Another remarkable vision of later date is that of the Knight Owain in St. Patrick's Purgatory, to which Wright devotes the third chapter of his work. The whole of the English poem on this subject forms an excellent parallel to that of Tundale.

In the case of a work so popular in its own day, a brief review of the steps by which it has become known again in this century may not be without interest. When Lachmann first drew attention to it in 1836, by publishing a fragment of an old German translation of c. 1160, the only version of the original accessible to him was the abridged one given by Vincent of Beauvaix in his *Speculum Historiale*. This in fact was the one mainly, though not exclusively, used by translators and early printers. Another old German translation in verse of the twelfth century, by a priest named Alber, was printed by Hahn in 1840, and about the same time appeared a Dutch prose version from a fourteenth century manuscript. The next in order belongs to this country, being Turnbull's edition (1843) of the Old English version, which will be more fully described afterwards. In the following year Wright gave a short account of the vision in St. Patrick's Purgatory (pp. 32-37). Add to these an old Swedish translation, edited in 1844 by George Stephens, now the well known author of the *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, some fragments of an Icelandic one printed by Konrad Gislason in 1860, and the old Italian translation reprinted by Villari in 1865, and it will be seen that we have a considerable literature on the subject before Professor Schade brought out the true original at Halle in 1869. A valuable contribution to the history of the work and its diffusion was made in 1871 by Adolfo Mussafia in the Proceedings of the Vienna Academy. The Icelandic version was also published in full, so far as it exists, in *Heilagra manna sögur*, 1877, and is in one way the most interesting of all the translations from its historic connection. In place of the original prologue by Marcus there is substituted an introductory homily in rhymed prose, which gives the information that 'King Hákon took this book out of Latin and had it made

into Norse for men's improvement and consolation. God give the King for his labour eternal glory and heavenly inheritance, a good long life after this world, and holy majesty in the life eternal.' There can be little doubt that this is King Hákon Hákonsson, known to Scottish history as Haco, and famous for his defeat at Largs. In the account of his death in the Orkneys given by Sturla, it is told how, as he lay ill, he first had Latin books read to him, but as he found it tiring to follow the meaning, he made them read Norse ones instead, beginning with the *Lives of the Saints*. Among these the *Vision of Tundale* would very probably be included, as the King must have valued it highly before he had it translated, and pleasant reading for the warlike King this vision of judgment can hardly have been. That the work later on was in considerable estimation is shown by the fact that parts of four manuscripts are extant, all in the Arna-Magnæan collection in Copenhagen, from which a continuous text can be made up for nearly the whole of the book.

The wonderful popularity of the work during the Middle Ages is, however, most strikingly brought out by Albrecht Wagner in his *Visio Thugdali: lateinisch und deutsch* (Erlangen, 1882), where for the Latin text he is able to enumerate no fewer than fifty-four manuscripts, chiefly found in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. From the seven oldest of these he produces a text which is in many points much more correct than that given by Schade, and further prints, from a Vatican MS. of the thirteenth century, a curious poem in Latin hexameters, in which the Visions of Tundale and Owain, Furseus and Dryhthelm, and other smaller episodes are combined into one variegated whole. The German section of the book contains reprints of Lachmann's fragments and of Alber's poem; the latter is of much the same length as the old English rendering, somewhat over 2000 lines.

This old English version, after an interval of fifty years, has also been again made accessible in the careful edition by the same scholar.\* Of Turnbull's small octavo volume entitled

\* *Tundale, das mittenglische gedicht über die Vision des Tundalus.*  
Albrecht Wagner. Halle. 1893.

*The Visions of Tundale, together with Metrical Moralizations,* etc., published at Edinburgh by T. G. Stevenson, in 1843, and illustrated with a grotesque frontispiece from the pencil of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, only 105 copies were printed, and it is therefore extremely rare. Apart from this, however, the fact that Turnbull only made use of one manuscript, and that not the best, made a new edition very desirable, and the old one may now safely be left as a bibliographical rarity. The new editor has very ably discharged his task. Following as his main text one of the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, he has improved it from the three other copies known to exist, and in a copious critical apparatus gives all the various readings not admitted into the text. The poem must have been originally composed in the Northern dialect of English, as the editor shows with almost superfluous elaborateness and some unnecessary doubts,\* whereas the manuscript in the Advocates' Library from which Turnbull took his edition had been written by a very Southern scribe. The result of this is that many forms of words are altered, as was the custom of the scribes when copying texts in other dialects than their own, and is in fact made more difficult to read, for the spelling of Northern English in the fifteenth century is much more familiar to modern eyes than that of Southern. As a matter of fact not one of the manuscripts retains the original Northern speech of the poem, but the Royal manuscript comes nearest it, and is therefore the proper one to select as the base of an edition. Beyond making up a very good text in this way the editor has added few notes, and these mainly refer to various readings.

As the only account of this remarkable vision hitherto offered to the general reader is the very short one by Wright, in the work already cited, a new one may not be without some interest in view of the labour that has been spent on the subject since he wrote. As a specimen of popular religious views in the Middle Ages it has no slight value, and those who care

\* E.g., that on the rhyme of *wones : stones* (p. xix.) The form *wanes* required to rhyme with *stanes*, is a regular Northern one, and need have caused no difficulty.

to trace the connection between severity of punishments and prevalence of crime, will find in this, like others of its kind, a curious illustration of how ineffectual the most terrible threatenings are to repress violations of any law. Tundale's horrors may have scared a few; the mass they would leave perfectly untouched. In the relation of them, however, the lover of the picturesquely horrible will find enough to satisfy him: for lurid tints and bold strokes the genius of Tundale himself, or the pen of his interviewer, do not yield even to Dante's far more famous work.

It has been the hero's not unnatural fate to have his name slightly altered. Properly it ought to appear in the formidable shape of *Tnugdal*, but the Hibernian combination at the beginning seemed impossible to foreign scribes, who copied it as *Tungdalus*, and hence arose a variety of forms, such as *Tundalus*, *Tondalus*, *Tugdalus*, *Tungulus*, etc. The Icelandic version made a bold hit at another Celtic name and altered it into *Duggal*, while in the Italian it becomes almost classical as *Tantolo* and *Theodolo*! Tundale is the form adopted in the Old English poem, and being more easy to handle than the original, had best be retained for all practical purposes.

The prologue of Brother Marcus, which is regularly omitted in the translations except that the date is sometimes copied, is addressed to a devout lady abbess, named only as G., who had requested him to write this remarkable narrative. This meagre indication is happily supplemented in the German translation by Alber, who, omitting the name of Marcus, says that it was written by a good monk of St. Paul's cloister in Regensburg, and at the instance of three ladies, named Otegebe, Heilke and Gisel. The death of a 'Gisila Abbatisa' is noted by a twelfth century hand in a record examined by Wagner (*Vis. Thug.* p. xxiv.), so that we need not hesitate to combine Alber's account with that of the prologue itself.

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by your diligence. . . . We have written it for you faithfully, just as he who saw these things related the vision to us.' From this it would appear that Marcus had first taken down the account of *Tnugdal* in Irish, and afterwards translated it into Latin. In that case we may regret the loss of an Irish text which would have been a worthy sequel to the *Vision of Adamnan*. It also follows that Marcus himself was an Irishman, so that the story probably lost nothing in the telling. It is possible, as Wagner suggests, that the abbess improved the Latin of the *Vision* itself, leaving only the prologue exactly as Marcus wrote it, but in that case the changes would only be verbal.

'This vision,' Marcus goes on to say, 'was seen in the year 1149 (rather 1148), being the second year of the expedition of Conrad, King of the Romans, to Jerusalem, and the fourth of the apostolate of Pope Eugenius II. (correctly III.), the year in which he returned to Rome from the parts of Gaul. In the self-same year also Malachias, Bishop of Down, legate of the Irish, with whose life and doctrine all the Western Church shone, died at Clarevaux while coming to Rome, whose life, full of miracles, Bernard Abbot of Clarevaux is writing in a clear style. Of him we shall make mention in the proper place if God permit. Nehemiah too, Bishop of Cloyne, a man eminent in birth, wisdom and holiness, being a holy and venerable old man of 95 years, this same year, in his own chair, departed from the troublesome conflict of this life to the joys of life eternal. Of whose life and miracles we shall sometime speak, knowing that you desire the examples of the saints for your edification.' If the use of the present tense (*transcribit*) in reference to Bernard can be regarded as decisive, it would fix the date of the work of Marcus as previous to 1153, the year in which Bernard died. In any case all the evidence goes to show that it must be earlier than 1160, which is the most likely date for the oldest German version.

The first chapter opens with a short description of Ireland, which is also omitted in many of the versions, such as the English. Its geographical position is defined; it lies in the Western Ocean, having to the south England, to the east the

Scots and Britons, ‘whom some call Welsh,’ to the north the Catti (Caithness) and the Orkneys, and to the south Spain. (Both England and Spain are thus said to be to the *south*, probably the latter is meant for *west*). The island is full of lakes, rivers, and forests, abounds in grain, milk, honey, and all kinds of fish and game, ‘devoid of vineyards, but rich in wine,’ and so free from serpents, frogs, toads, and all other venomous creatures,\* that even its wood, hides, horns, and earth are known to overcome all poisons. It is famous for its religious men and women, but cruel and renowned in war. It has 34 principal cities, the bishops of which are under two metropolitans, the one having the See of Armagh in the north, and the other that of Cashel† in the south. To the latter place Tundale belonged.

At this point our English version begins with the character of Tundale, whom it makes remarkable for an excess of bad qualities and a corresponding scarcity of good ones. Here, however, the translator has been much harder on him than the original warranted; indeed, has set up a new conception of him altogether. Marcus speaks of him as young, well-born, of happy face, good figure, and courtly breeding, becomingly dressed, great-hearted, skilled in the art of war, affable and merry, ‘but (what I cannot tell without sorrow) in proportion as he trusted in the beauty and strength of his body, the less did he care for the eternal salvation of his soul. For, as he himself often now confesses with tears, it annoyed him if anyone tried to speak to him about this, however briefly. He neglected the Church of God, and would not look on the poor of Christ, but for vain glory distributed all he had among jesters, buffoons, and jugglers.’ Marcus, as the personal acquaintance of Tundale, ought to have known his character best, but the translator draws up a terrible indictment:—

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\* The old German version curiously reverses this statement. Alber interpolates the account of their expulsion by St. Patrick.

† In the Latin *Artimacha* and *Caselensis*. The MSS. and versions naturally corrupt the names. The old German has *Archamacha* and *Crocagensis* (got from lower down), while the Icelandic makes *Artimacha* into *Tikona* (!) In one Latin MS. *Corcagensis (infra)* is made classical as *Karthaginensis*.

' He was a man of wicked fame,  
 He had enough of all riches,  
 But he was poor of all goodness ;  
 He was full of treachery,  
 Of pride, ire, and envy.  
 Lechery was his play,  
 And gluttony he loved aye,  
 With him was no charity.  
 He was a man without pity ;  
 He loved well contak and strife,  
*There was no man lived worse life.*  
 Yet would not God his soule tyne  
 When he it brought from helles pyne,  
 For his mercy passes all thing.' (20-39).

For three days and nights, as many an inhabitant of Cork who was present can testify, he lay as one dead, during which time 'his soul was in a dreadful way,' and what he suffered during that space his present life bears witness. All these torments, says Marcus, we shall not grudge to write for you (the abbess) for the increase of your devoutness, even as we heard them from the mouth of him who saw and suffered them.

The catastrophe happened in this way. Among Tundale's many friends was one who owed him the price of three horses. There was such a thing as honest trading even in Ireland of the twelfth century, but here again the translator blackens the character of Tundale :—

' He was ay full of treachery,  
 Of his mannères men had drede,  
 For he was wicked in word and deed.  
 Through okker (*usury*) would he silver len,  
 For five shilling he would have ten,  
 And nothing lend for Goddis sake.' (50-55).

This treacherous usurer is a sheer figment, for which the translator is alone responsible. The time of credit having expired, Tundale went to ask for payment, and after staying with his friend for three days brought up the matter. The latter answered that he had not the money ready, and Tundale in great wrath prepared to go home again, but the debtor begged him to stay and eat with him first. Tundale yielded and sat down at the table, laying aside the axe that he had in his

hand, but when he had stretched out his hand to the food he found himself unable to draw it back again. Then with a loud cry he entrusted the axe to his friend's wife, saying : 'Take charge of my axe, for I die.' The English is greatly expanded :—

' "Dame," he said, "for charity  
Look me my sparth, where e'er it stand,  
That I brought with me in my hand,  
And help me now from here away,  
I hope \* to die this ilkè day,' etc. (86-90).

With that Tundale fell down, and all the signs of death were apparent in him ; the Latin describes them at length, but the English omits them, as well as the vivid description of the general confusion caused by the occurrence. 'The servants run in, the food is removed, the retainers cry out, the host laments, the body is laid out, the bells are rung, the clergy come running, the people marvel, and the whole city is confounded by the sudden death of a good knight.' A little warmth could however be detected in the left breast, and on this account he was allowed to remain unburied. There he lay from about the tenth hour on Wednesday till the same time on Saturday, when in the presence of all those who had assembled to his funeral he returned to life, and after partaking of the sacrament gave all his goods to the poor, and vowed to change his manner of life. His account of his experience was as follows :—

When the soul left the body, being conscious of its guilt, it began to fear and knew not what to do. It tried to return into the body, but being unable to do this, stood weeping and lamenting. Then it saw coming towards it such 'an ugly rout of wicked ghosts,' as filled not only the house but all the streets and squares of the city. The translator here improves on his text by giving a description of the demons :—

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\* The old use of *hope* is about as curious to modern ears in this passage as in the lines of William Stewart :—

' Freindlie affection causit them to greet,  
In *hope* again that they suld never meet.'

'Their bodies were both black and foul,  
 Full grimly on him gan they scowl,  
 Their eue were broad, burning as fire,  
 And they were full of anger and ire ;  
 Their mouths were wide, they gaped fast,  
 The lowe out of their mouths they cast ;  
 They were all full of fire within,  
 Their lippes hung beneath their chin ;  
 Their teeth were long, their throatès wide,  
 Their tongues hung out on ilka side.  
 On feet and hands they had long nails,  
 And great hornès and tattered tails ;  
 Their nailès seemed as grounden steel,  
 Sharper thing might no man feel.' (145-187).

These surrounded the poor soul with terrible taunts and threats, which are excellently rendered in the translation, but the omnipotent and merciful Lord took pity on it and sent his angel, whom the soul saw approaching like a star. The angel on arriving assured it of the mercy of God, and ordered it to follow him. The soul then ventured to leave the body, beside which it had been standing hitherto, and placed itself under the angel's protection, at which all the devils cried out against the injustice of God—

'Tundale is ours through skill and right  
 For he has served us both day and night ;  
 Full wickedly has he lived long,  
 If we him lose, thou does us wrong.' (277-280.)

With that they fiercely attacked each other and departed, *nimio fetore relicto*,—a feature which appears in most of the visions. The soul, being ordered to follow, was apprehensive of being carried off, but the angel said, 'Fear not, there are more with us than with them.'

First they came to a deep valley filled with burning coals, and fitted with an iron lid six cubits thick, hotter than the coals themselves and smelling horribly. On this iron plate a multitude of souls alighted, and were melted till they ran through it as wax is strained through a cloth, and so arriving in the fire below were again renewed to suffer the same torments. This, the angel explained to Tundale, was the punishment of murderers, which he had deserved to experience, but would be permitted to escape.

Next they arrived at a huge mountain with only a narrow path across it, on one side of which was a dark sulphurous fire, and on the other snow, ice, hail and storms. Here there were demons with red hot iron forks and tridents, throwing the souls from the one part to the other. There is a similar punishment of heat and cold in other visions, such as that of Adamnan; here it is assigned to those who lie in wait for their neighbour to injure him.

Another trait of Adamnan's vision appears in the valley they now come to, which was spanned by a bridge a mile in length and only a foot in breadth. Those who attempted to cross it fell into the darkness below, from which the rushing of a river of sulphur and the wailings of the tormented could be heard. Only one person was seen to cross the bridge, and he was a priest and pilgrim, who, as the angel afterwards explained, was only on a visit of inspection in order that he might enjoy heaven all the more after having seen the pains of the wicked. The angel led Tundale's soul safely across the bridge, and told him that this punishment was ordained 'for proude men and bostous.'

After long darkness they saw before them a beast of incredible size and horror, surpassing all the mountains Tundale had ever seen; its eyes were like hills of fire, and its mouth could admit 9000 armed men at once. This mouth was curiously divided into three entrances by two giants, whose heads and feet touched its upper and lower jaws, but one of them was reversed and stood on his head. Out of the mouth came fire and stench, and from within could be heard the lamentations of souls, which a multitude of fiends were driving in at the mouth, and maltreating as they did so. This beast was named Acherons, and swallowed all the covetous and avaricious, and to it are applied the words of Job xl. 23, 'He trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth,' to which the Icelandic translation adds that Jordan means Christian men, because baptism began there. 'Those who appear reversed between its teeth are giants, and in their day none were found so faithful in their own way of life; their names you know well, they are called Fergus and Conall.' Unhappy

Fergus mac Róich and Conall Cernach! many a gallant feat they did in the days of Conchobhar and Cuchulainn, and many a fix they got into, but surely never one like this, nor does the angel give any satisfactory reason for using them as door-posts. The soul being here deserted by the angel was immediately seized by the fiends and thrown into the beast; 'and what and how great torments he suffered there, even if he himself were to be silent one might easily learn by the colour of his face and the change in his life.' For brevity's sake only a few of these are given 'for the edification of readers.' At length the soul somehow or other found itself outside the beast again, and was rejoined by the angel.

They went on again and came to a lake whose waves rose so high as to hide the heavens. Across this was another bridge two miles long and a palm broad, all set with sharp iron spikes, and under it a host of terrible beasts as large as towers, and spouting fire, waiting to devour souls. On the bridge stood one lamenting, with a load of grain on his back. This was the punishment of thieves, especially such as had committed sacrilege, the nature of which is carefully explained. Tundale having once stolen his godfather's cow was compelled to drive it over the bridge, his excuse, that he gave it back, not being accepted. In the middle of the bridge he met the man who carried the grain: they could neither pass nor turn back, and stood there lamenting and trembling, until somehow or other they found themselves past each other, and the angel relieved Tundale of the cow, and healed his wounded feet.\*

The house of Phristinus had next to be visited: it was as large as a mountain and round as a baker's oven, and out of it came flames that stretched for a mile about. As they approached, they saw standing at the doors demons with all kinds of instruments† for mutilating the souls of those who had been luxurious and licentious.

\* Here the Swedish version interpolates a punishment from some other source, that of souls hung up by various limbs according to their several offences.

† The list is curious both in the Latin and English:—'Cum securibus et cultris et sarmentis et bisacutis, cum dolabris et terebris et falcibus acutissimis, cum wangiiis et fossoriis, etc.'

'Summe had syculus, knyvus and saws,  
Summe had twybyll, brodax and nawges,\*  
Cultoris, sythus kene wytball,  
Spytill-forkus the sowlys to fall.'—(721-724).

'Of that sight Tundale had wonder,  
How they smote those souls asunder.  
Some struck off heads and some thees (*thighs*),  
Some arms, some leggis by the knees.  
Some the bodies in gobbits small,  
Yet (*re*)covered those souls together all,  
And eft were smitten in sunder again.'—(729-735).

Tundale naturally was scared, and 'besought the angel bright that he would let him away sculk,' but was refused. The demons dealt with him as with the rest, and in that place he saw many awful torments, too realistic for transcription, which were suffered not only by secular persons, but even by ecclesiastics, monks and nuns, an admission which Marcus is extremely sorry to make. On issuing from this again, it knew not how, the soul asked where the mercy of God was, and received from the angel a choice homily on the theme that God though merciful is also just.

Sinners under the guise of religion were not yet done with however. Another beast came in sight, the description of which is faithfully rendered by the translator:—

'Two great wingès that were black  
Stood on either side his back.  
Two feet with nails of iron and steel  
He had, that were full sharp to feel.  
He had a long neck that was small,  
But the head was great withall.  
His ene were broad in his head,  
And all burning as fire red.  
His mouth was wide, he was side-lipped,  
His snout was with iron tipped.'—(861-870).

This beast vomited flames and sat on a frozen lake. It devoured all the souls that came in its way, and after digesting them voided them into the icy lake, where as usual, they were renewed to endure fresh torments. There grew within

\* *Nawges* is apparently = *naws*, *nawls*, a provincial form of *awl*.

them serpents with fiery heads and iron beaks, which then came out over every part of the body, but being prevented from issuing completely by their barbed tails tore and rent the unhappy souls to the bones. This is a section that Marcus dwells upon at much greater length than would be pleasant to transcribe, and even the old versifier cuts it short. These were the souls of monks, canons, nuns, and other ecclesiastics, who either by dress or tonsure lie to God, but although specially devoted to them this torture included others guilty of excessive wantonness. Even this Tundale was subjected to, but saved by the angel before it had quite come to the worst.

For a long time they went on again, with no other light but that given by the angel, following a narrow path that led down a deep precipice, and the further they descended the less did the soul expect ever to return. This being explained as the way to death, Tundale was surprised, remembering that 'broad is the way, &c.', but the angel explained that the phrase was metaphorical. At length they came to a valley filled with forges, from which issued loud wailings. This was the domain of Vulcan, whose satellites seized on Tundale with burning tongs, and threw him into one of the furnaces. Then they blew the bellows till he and all the others with him were melted, when they thrust iron tridents into the mass and threw it on the anvil, where a hundred souls together were forged into a single piece. This was then thrown to other smiths, who caught it with burning tongs and repeated the process. Finally the angel rescued Tundale and asked him how he felt, to which it is not surprising that he was unable to give an answer.

All the souls already seen were only waiting for judgment, those now to be visited in the lower depths were doomed already. Suddenly the soul felt trembling and intolerable cold and stench, and worst of all the angel disappeared, leaving it in total ignorance, for, as Solomon says, 'there is no knowledge nor wisdom in the grave.' Then it heard loud cries, wailings, and thunders, so horrible that 'neither our littleness can comprehend them, nor his tongue, as he confessed, be able to relate them.' These issued from a square

pit like a cistern, out of which rose a column of fire and smoke. In this were shot up 'as sparks of fire through windes blast,' crowds of souls and demons which then fell back again into the pit. This perpetual geyser of souls is a feature of several other visions, such as those of Adamnan and Dryhthelm. Tundale, lamenting at the sight, was threatened by the demons in choice rhetoric, in rendering which the English version is very successful, as also in the description of the fiends themselves, with their eyes like 'breunyng lampes,' their 'sharpe tuskes,' and the 'nayles on their clookes that were lyke anker-hookeyes.' Indeed, 'no wonder it was if he were feared,' until the return of the angel saved him.

The greatest spectacle of all yet remained to be seen. Tundale was to be treated to a sight of the adversary of mankind himself, whose position in the 'deepest pot of Hell,' as Dunbar calls it, reminds one of the place assigned to Lucifer by Dante. To the edge of this pit Tundale advanced and looked down into it,

' But though a man had verily  
A hundred heads on one body,  
And as many mouthes withal,  
As to ilka head should fall,  
And ilka mouth above the chin  
A hundred tonges had within,  
And ilka tongue could show the wit  
That all men have that liven yet,  
All were not enough half to tell  
That he saw in the pit of hell.' (1289-1298).\*

What he did see, however, was the Prince of Darkness himself, the Enemy of mankind, the Devil, who in size exceeded all the beasts that he had seen before. In fact, Tundale gave no description of his bulk, and Marcus is too conscientious to invent one; the English translator is less scrupulous, but fails miserably to rise to the occasion, as he merely makes him a hundred cubits long, forty broad, and nine thick, which are

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\* Although this passage may have been suggested by Virgil's *Non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum*, etc. (*AEn.* vi. 625), it is really closer to one in the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*.

certainly curious measurements. He was black as a crow, and of human shape, except that he had a tail and a thousand arms, each arm a hundred cubits long and ten thick (which may have misled the translator); on every arm again were twenty fingers, each a hundred palms long and ten thick; armed with iron nails longer than a knight's lance. In addition, he had a 'mekil long snowt,' and his tail was fitted with sharp stings for torturing the souls. This horrible spectacle was lying flat upon a glowing griddle or grid-iron :—

' Burning coals lay there under,  
But they were dim, and that was wonder ;  
Many fiends, as tattered foals,  
With bellows blew at the coals.' (1341-1344).

To this Lucifer was fastened by burning chains of iron and brass attached to every limb and joint, and when in his agonies he turned from one side to the other, he clutched with all his hands at the immense multitude of souls around him, and squeezed them 'as a thirsty rustic does grapes.' Then with a single breath he scattered all the souls into every part of Gehenna, and the pit shot up a stinking flame, but on drawing in his breath again they were all brought back and swallowed by him. This multitude consisted partly of angels of darkness and partly of the children of Adam who did not deserve mercy, even to prelates and the powerful ones of this world who abused their offices. On this the angel discoursed at length, but Tundale, seeing many of his intimate friends among the number, became anxious to retire, and the angel led him away with promises of seeing the joys of the friends of God.

In the rest of the narrative there is no such sharp distinction between Purgatory and Heaven as is found in some other visions. In fact the first part of Tundale's vision is really Purgatory, as only in the lowest depths are the souls beyond all hope of deliverance. As he now went on with the angel the darkness disappeared, and he became filled with light and joy. At last they saw before them a very high wall under which a great number of men and women suffered from wind and rain, hunger and thirst, 'but they had light and felt no stench.' These had been bad, but not very; they tried to live

honestly and well, but gave too little to the poor, therefore they were subjected to this for some years.

In a little they came to a gate, which opened of its own accord, and entering they saw a field full of flowers, in which was a countless multitude of souls. There was no night there, and in it was a fountain of living water. Tundale broke out into rejoicings, and asked of what souls this was the resting-place. 'There,' said the angel, 'dwell those who have not been very good, who have been taken out of torment but are not yet worthy of communion with the saints.'

A little further on Tundale saw two kings, whom he recognized as Conchobhar and Donnchadh.\* At this he was surprised as they had been cruel men, and deadly enemies in their lifetime. The angel, however, explained that they had suffered before their death: Conchobhar was long ill and vowed to be a monk; Donnchadh was long in prison and gave all his goods to the poor. The names are so common among Irish kings that identification is difficult, but Conchobhar may be that son of Diarmaid ua Briain, and King of Munster, who 'in tribulatione bonâ quievit' at Cill-Dalua in 1142.

Next they saw a palace whose walls were all of gold, silver and precious stones: it had neither door nor window, yet all might enter it who chose. Inside it was as clear as if many suns were shining there. Here Tundale saw a golden throne on which sat his former lord, King Cormac, in glorious apparel, to whom many came and made presents, and priests robed as if to celebrate mass came before him with the sacred vessels. These were all the poor men and pilgrims to whom the king was so liberal while in the body. 'Did my master suffer any torments after he left the body?' asked Tundale. 'He did,' said the angel, 'and does so still. Wait and we shall see.' Before long the palace grew dark, the king rose from his seat, 'grette and gowled,' and went out. Tundale following saw him in fire to the waist, and above that clad in a hair-cloth.

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\* In the Latin *Conchober* and *Donacius*. The various translations make great havoc of the names, the MSS. of the English one having *Cantaber*, *Concelere* and *Botoler*. The last form has evidently come from misreading *Kōcober*, but Wagner strangely enough leaves it in the text.

This he had to endure for three hours out of the twenty-four, the fire because he had broken his marriage vow, and the hair because he had slain a nobleman at St. Patrick's shrine. This is no doubt Cormac mac Carthaigh, 'chief king of Desmond and bishop-king of Erinn in his time as regards piety and the presentation of jewels and valuables to clerics and churches,' who fell by treachery in 1138, 'and a blessing be with his soul,' say the *Annals of Loch Cé*.

Passing in some mysterious way through a wall of silver they came to a delightful place filled with men and women in white raiment, 'singing aye so merrily and making joy and melody.' These were married persons who had faithfully kept their vows, ruled their households well, and given liberally to the poor, to pilgrims and to the Church. The next wall was of gold, and passing through it they found golden thrones adorned with gems and covered with rich cloths, on which sat martyrs and others who had renounced worldly desires, both men and women. They were gloriously apparelled, their faces shone like the sun, and before them were golden lecterns, on which lay books with golden letters, from which they sang praises to the Lord. After that they found monks and nuns living in tents of purple and gold, in which were all kinds of musical instruments playing of their own accord. Here Tundale was not allowed to enter, because they enjoyed the presence of the Holy Trinity, and anyone who entered would become one of them. Above them was a bright firmament from which were suspended by chains cups and phials, cymbals and bells, lilies and golden spheres, while angels flying about among the chains produced most delightful music.

Under a huge tree which bore all kinds of fruit, and in whose branches various birds sat and sang, Tundale next saw many men and women living in cells of ivory and gold, dressed in regal garments, with golden crowns and sceptres, ceaselessly praising God. These were the builders and defenders of the Holy Church, who lived piously and justly while on earth.

Next came a wall of precious stones, evidently taken from that of Revelations, from the top of which Tundale saw the nine orders of angels, and heard unspeakable words. It is

plain to all, says Marcus, how pleasant and sublime it would be to be there among the choirs of holy angels, to see the company of patriarchs and prophets, and the army of martyrs clothed in white, to hear the new song of the virgins, and above all, to feel Him merciful and loving, who is the bread of angels and the life of all. The English translator has not thought this last part definite enough, and expands it into :—

‘They see the Holy Trinity,  
God sitting in his majesty ;  
They beheld fast his sweet face,  
That shone bright over all that place,  
It seven times brighter was in sight  
Than ever sun that shone so bright,  
The which sight is food to angells,  
And life to spirits that there dwells.’ (2111-2122).

From this point they could see not only all the glories already described, but also all the torments and the whole world at a glance, ‘for nothing can blunt the sight of the creature that has once been permitted to behold the Creator of all.’ This comprehensive view required no turning about to accomplish, which is a hard enough thing to grasp, but not so hard as that in the Vision of Adamnan, where the saints and pilgrims in heaven are said to be all face to face.

Among those whom Tundale saw here was his patron saint Ruadan, no doubt Ruadhan of Loдра, who was one of Ireland’s twelve apostles and prime saints, and of whom ‘a very ancient vellum says that in life and conduct he was like to Matthew the Apostle.’ Then came St. Patrick himself, attended by a crowd of bishops, four of whom Tundale recognized, to wit, Celestinus \* (*i.e.*, Cellach), Archbishop of Armagh (1106-1129), and Malachias, who held that office later (1134-1148; Muircheartach came between them), and who came to Rome in the time of Pope Innocent, and was by him appointed legate and archbishop. He founded fifty-four † establishments

\* Also called Celsus. The Latin names are mere chance equivalents for the Gaelic, like Thaddaeus and Theophilus for Thady or Teague. So the real name of Malachias was Maelmaedhoig ua Morgair: the same rendering of it is given on the margin of the *Chronicum Scotorum*.

† So the Latin text and the poem, which expresses the number by *bis ter terna ter*: the English has ‘four and forty.’

of monks, canons and nuns, and provided them with all necessities. The other two were Christian, Bishop of Lyons (1126-1138), brother germane of Malachias, and Nehemias, Bishop of Cloyne (1140-1148), already mentioned in the introduction along with Malachias. An empty seat beside them was reserved for one of their brethren who had not yet departed.

Tundale would fain have stayed there, but the angel told him it could not be, and without any appreciable interval the soul again felt itself laden with the body. He opened his eyes and saw the clerics standing round, and, having received the sacrament, he gave all his possessions to the poor. 'All that he had seen he afterwards related to us, and advised us to lead a good life, and preached with great devotion, humility and knowledge the Word of God, which before he had not known. But we, because we are unable to imitate his life, have been zealous to write this at least for the good of those who read it.' In conclusion, Marcus asks the Abbess to remember him in her prayers. The English translator has taken considerable liberties with the ending, even telling of Tundale's final departure :—

'In Heaven evermore to dwell,  
Where more joy is than tongue may tell,  
To the which joy he us bring  
That made heaven, earth, and all thing,  
Ilk one of you that has heard me,  
Say "Amen" for charity.'—(2349-2354).

Tundale's vision, while it necessarily has much in common with others of the kind, is not wanting in a certain vastness of conception that places it on a higher level than many of them, while the plain prose narrative, interspersed with the earnest assurances of Marcus, gives to the pictures a show of reality that may account to some extent for the popularity of the work. In the *Divina Commedia*, the poet's personality takes up much more of the foreground than does the miserable soul of Tundale, and the constant conversations carried on between Dante and individual souls removes some of the vagueness and indefinite horror that pervades our vision. In Tundale's hell there is little individuality; the souls are taken by thousands at a time, and every now and then he himself is lost among

them as he undergoes the successive torments. Despite the mention of a few real persons, there seems to be no personal motive in the work, as there is in the Italian poet's. The latter was no doubt influenced by the visions with a political end in view, which perhaps originated with that of Charles the Fat, recorded by William of Malmesbury, but many of the crude horrors of the earlier legends are softened by his classical tastes. In the Purgatory and Paradise he rises to heights undreamed of by his predecessors, whose aim was neither poetry nor allegory, but pious edification and timely warning to the wicked. To ask how far each one wrote in good faith, would be to raise a question on medieval religious psychology in general that cannot be entered on here. Nor is it easy to guess how far each one based his work on the earlier ones, for a number of the common features might easily have been arrived at independently. In considering this general similarity of the visions it is important to remember the preponderance of the Irish and English element in them; it was mere accident that Tundale's was written down in Germany and not in Ireland itself. It is thus natural that it should stand in close relation to the highly imaginative works of a similar kind preserved in Old Irish, of which the *Vision of Adamnan* has already been referred to.\* In every respect the *Visio Thugdali* is a genuine offshoot of Celtic literature, a product of the same exuberant fancy that originated the *Voyage of Maelduin* or the tales of the Fiann; and this is an element in the history of ideas of eternal punishment that cannot well be set aside. If the East originated the ideas themselves, the West at least took its full share in elaborating them, and succeeded to no small extent in believing the reality of its own conceptions, which is, after all, one of the easiest tasks of the human mind.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

\* It is perhaps curious that in Tundale's heaven there is no mention of Enoch and Elijah, who form such a feature of these works, and appear even in the *Vision of Paul*. The last vanishing trace of this interest is perhaps that in 'Lichtoun's Dreme,' when he reaches Paradise,—

'There was I ware of Enoch and Ely  
Sittand on Yule e'en in a fresh green shaw,  
Rostand strawberries at a fire of snaw.'

## ART. VI.—SOME ASPECTS OF RECENT POETRY.

1. *Poems.* By FRANCIS THOMPSON. London : Elkin Mathews, and John Lane. 1894.
2. *The Song of the Sword, and other Verses.* By W. E. HENLEY. London : David Nutt. 1894.
3. *English Poems.* By RICHARD LE GALLIENNE. London : Elkin Mathews, and John Lane. 1892.
4. *Odes, and other Poems.* By WILLIAM WATSON. London : John Lane. 1894.
5. *The Shorter Poems of Robert Bridges.* London : George Bell and Sons. 1894.
6. *Ballads and Songs.* By JOHN DAVIDSON. London : John Lane. 1894.
7. *Orchard Songs.* By NORMAN GALE. London : Elkin Mathews, and John Lane. 1893.

‘MEN,’ says Mr. George Saintsbury in that excellent volume of common sense criticisms, which he has recently published under the title of *Corrected Impressions*, ‘will try to persuade themselves, or at least others, that they read poetry, because it is a criticism of life, because it expresses the doubts and fears, and hopes of the time, because it is a substitute for religion, because it is a relief from serious work, because and because and because. As a matter of fact they (that is to say those of them who like it genuinely), read it because they like it, because it communicates an experience of half sensual, half intellectual, pleasure to them. Why it does this no mortal can say, any more than he can say why the other causes of his pleasures produce their effect. How it does, it is perhaps not quite so hard to explain ; though here also we come as usual to the bounding wall of mystery before very long.’ Mr. Saintsbury here undoubtedly expresses the reality of that almost physical delight in poetry, which is probably felt by young folk of both sexes, who in spite or in virtue of their youth have generally the making of great reputations in their hands. A generation

has sprung up which knows Tennyson but also criticises him, which finds nothing but commonplaceness of ideas allied to melody in the old and popular

A splendour falls on castle walls,  
And snowy summits old in story ;  
A long light shakes across the lakes,  
And the wild cataract leaps in glory,

and which declares perhaps with truth that the author of these lines is not nearly so assured of immortality as Wordsworth. And yet men and still more women, who have reached middle age, must admit that of the purely subjective delights of their youth, none approached nearer to ecstasy than that afforded by the reading of Tennyson's *In Memoriam* or *The Idylls of the King*. 'Young girls,' says M. Taine in that passage—the finest perhaps he ever wrote—in which he compares Alfred Tennyson with Alfred de Musset, greatly to the advantage of the Laureate of Bohemia, 'weep in listening to them; certainly when, a while ago, we heard the legend of *Elaine* or *Enid* read, we saw the fair heads drooping under the flowers which adorned them, and white shoulders heaving with furtive emotion. And how delicate was this emotion! He has not rudely trenched upon truth and passion. He has risen to the heights of noble and tender sentiments. He has gleaned from all nature and all history what was most lofty and amiable. He had chosen his ideas, chiselled his words, equalled, by the diversity of his style, the pleasantness and perfection of social elegance in the midst of which we read him. His poetry is like one of those gilt and painted stands in which flowers of the country and exotics mingle in artful harmony their stalks and foliage, their clusters and cups, their scents and hues. It seems made expressly for these wealthy, cultivated free business men, heirs of the ancient nobility, new leaders of a new England. It is part of their luxury as of their morality; it is an eloquent confirmation of their principles, and a precious article of their drawing-room furniture.' Here M. Taine illustrates by his observations the truth of Mr. Saintsbury's test of the quality of poetry in the minds of such as genuinely like it—the fact that it communicates a 'half sensual, half intellectual, pleasure

to them.' The girls, whose fair heads drooped and whose white shoulders heaved, when they heard *Enid* or *Elaine* read, may be but the flowers of an essentially artificial Society. Whitman, indeed, was probably right as a prophet, if not as a critic, when he declared Tennyson's poetry to be the swan song of an expiring feudalism. That, however, is beside the mark. The question is, was the 'half sensual, half intellectual pleasure,' which these girls felt real, although it may have owed a good deal to environment, education, and even heredity? M. Taine, with those French eyes of his, which look emotion as boldly in the face as they look scientific truth, has testified that it was. And his evidence is not to be gainsaid.

But this 'half-sensual half-intellectual pleasure' is not the whole, although it may be fully the half, of the truth, about poetry. Let us return to Tennyson; and one may be permitted to linger over him seeing that his seat as a court official and his place in public opinion are still vacant. Tennyson was the delight of hundreds, even thousands, of young men and young women, who were totally unacquainted with Society's drawing-rooms or the 'heirs of the ancient nobility, new leaders of a new England.' What charmed them was the proclamation of such doctrines—'diluted Democracy' though they may amount to—as that kind hearts are more than coronets and simple faith than Norman blood, or the answers to such nursery questions as 'What does little baby say?' If Burns built a throne, Tennyson built a fortune, on simple truth; for surely Mr. Andrew Lang—supreme in the field of literary taste, as Mr. Saintsbury is supreme in the field of literary common sense—is caught napping when he is found writing 'The purchasing public for poetry, must now consist chiefly of poets and *they* are usually poor.' And, although Mr. Saintsbury is evidently suspicious—and rightly suspicious—of the immortality of a poetry, which 'expresses the doubts and fears and hopes of the time,' because these are not the doubts and fears and hopes of all time, yet for how many of us was Tennyson a joy and a consolation, because he did what Mr. Saintsbury dislikes? Is it possible, even at this time of day, to cut Tennyson adrift from—even to conceive him without—such pronouncements as that there is more faith

in honest doubt than half the creeds, or such aspirations as the prayer for the Christ that is to be, or such fears as that Divine Philosophy overstepping all her bounds, may become procress to the Lords of Hell, or such Liberal-Conservatism as that which bids us be not afraid for truth or the foundations of society even though thrice again the red fool fury of the Seine should pile her barricades with dead, which bids us go peacefully to sleep, pillow'd on

One God, one law, one element  
And one far off divine event,  
To which the whole Creation moves ?

His pronouncements may have been but half-truths. His aspirations, hopes, and fears may have been alike and equally evanescent. His Liberal-Conservatism may be but an unavailing barrier against the advance of Socialism and Materialism. But to men, now in middle life, they were all real—real as the belief in Free Trade or the extension of the franchise, as the passion for Scott or the enthusiasm for Macaulay. It is quite possible that Tennyson may yet go—that he may already be going—the way of some of his predecessors and contemporaries, such as Shelley and Browning, and that a Society may be needed to perpetuate his memory. And how lamentably true is Mr. Lang's contention ‘Can any things speak more clearly of the decadence of the art of poetry than the birth of so many poetical Societies ? They all demonstrate that people have not the courage to study verse in solitude, and for their proper pleasure ; men and women need confederates in this adventure. There is safety in numbers, and, by dint of tea-parties, recitations, discussions, quarrels, and the like, Dr. Furnivall and his friends keep blowing the faint embers on the altar of Apollo. They cannot raise a flame !’ Such may be the fate of Tennyson. But no Society—not even a clique of log-rollers—was needed to secure him popularity. He gave expression to the intenser emotions and larger movements of his time—or at all events what seemed to be such—to an extent and with a perfection of art to which none of his rivals could lay claim. And when all is said and done, what is the greatest poet of a period but the man who gives the most artistic expression to the deepest feelings of the greatest number?

The temporarily great if not abiding power of Tennyson is shown in the fact that all the poetic developments which have taken place in this country since his ascendancy became pronounced, and Browning, the only one of his contemporaries who can properly be regarded as his rival, was relegated to the worship of a Society, have partaken of the character either of a reaction against or of a development of, his indirect teaching. Take Mr. Swinburne and to a less extent Rossetti. It was their erotics that first brought them notoriety, although in Mr. Swinburne's case it is melody that has ensured him fame. And these erotics were a protest—unavailing perhaps, but nevertheless quite real and resolute—against that pronounced *virginibus puerisque* love in Tennyson's earlier works which assured them the entry into every drawing-room. Or take Mr. William Morris. He has far too original a mind to be either a mere slavish imitator, or a mere wilful rebel. Yet but for Tennysonian influence would he have taken in his earlier poetic days to such subjects as 'The Defence of Guinevere,' and is it quite certain that but for the gardens-and-embroidery side of Tennyson so happily dwelt upon by M. Taine he would have written the 'Earthly Paradise,' that 'huge decorative poem in which slim maidens and green-clad men and waters wan and flowering apple trees and rich palaces are all mingled as on some long ancient tapestry shaken a little by the wind of death?' And finally, the influence of Tennyson is distinctly to be seen in the school of the authors of *vers de société*, such as Mr. Locker, Mr. Lang, and Mr. Austin Dobson; it is curious by the way to recall how an American author designated these modern disciples of Herrick, Carew, and Lovelace as *par excellence* the Victorian poets. Tennyson was emphatically the poet of country-house and Rectory life. Why should not the Chloes and Delias and Phyllidas of What-Is-Called-Society in London have their poets also—and all to themselves? And so Ballades in Blue China and poems written 'at the sign of the Lyre' had their prosperous day. But it was bound to be short. For one thing, men like Mr. Lang and Mr. Dobson—Mr. Dobson with the contagious and not too painful pathos of

' Ever through life the Curé goes,  
With a smile on his kind old face ;  
With his coat worn bare, and his straggling hair,  
And his green umbrella-case ; '

were originally touched to finer and larger issues than the manufacturing of utterly artificial ballads to the eyebrows of utterly imaginary mistresses. Especially is this true of Mr. Lang, who wrote 'Helen of Troy'—its author's greatest work and single failure—and who, when he lets himself go, as in his poem on Byron, can write thus:—

' Farewell, thou Titan, fairer than the gods !  
Farewell, farewell, thou swift and lovely spirit,  
Thou splendid warrior with the world at odds,  
Unpraised, unpraisable, beyond thy merit ;  
Chased like Orestes, by the Furies' rods,  
Like him at length thy peace dost thou inherit !  
Beholding whom, men think how fairer far  
Than all the steadfast stars the wandering star !'

A great gulf may seem to be fixed between the poetry which was the vogue a quarter of a century ago and the poetry which is the vogue now. Certainly there could hardly be a greater contrast in spirit than between—

' I met Belle Vane. "He's" still in Spain !  
Sir John won't let them marry.  
Aunt drove the boys to Brompton Rink ;  
And Charley,—changing Charley,—think,  
Is *au mieux* with Carry ! '

And

' The poor,  
The maimed, the halt, the starving come,  
Crying for help at every door ;  
But loud the ecclesiastic drum,  
Outbids them ; and behind it wait  
The bones and cleavers of the State.'

Or

' The chink of gold, the labourer's groans,  
The infant's wail, the woman's sob ;  
Hoarsely they beg of Fate to give  
A little lightening of their woes,  
A little time to love, to live,  
A little time to think and know.'

which lines are to be found in the latest poem of Mr. John Davidson, who, of all the younger poets, is the most strenuous, the most desirous to grapple in verse with the serious questions of the hour. And beyond all doubt reaction is inevitable in literature as in life. A period of genuine enjoyment leads to an awakening in the shape of the conscience-stricken realisation of the fact that after all ‘life is real, life is earnest.’ Intense delight in middle class comfort or aristocratic luxury is followed—and it is well that it should be followed—by a horror amounting almost to physical pain at the thought of the misery, the privations, and the vice that appear to be the sole inheritance of ‘the multitude that are ready to perish,’ and that fill the slums of our large cities.

But this reaction, resulting in a turning away from the pleasures of a comfortable life to the contemplation of another kind of existence which is at the very best but a long and often desperate struggle with death, is merely a portion of that larger movement which for want of a better name, we commonly and vaguely style ‘realism.’ A middle-aged man, who can recall the subjects, largely metaphysical and religious, which vexed thoughtful minds when he was young, and can contrast these with the essentially material problems that vex equally thoughtful minds now, may partially understand the development which may be made in a quarter of a century. It almost looks as if man, terrified by the possibility, involved in Evolution, that he may be after all but the greater ape, had set himself in almost defiant despair, to lead the life of the (presumably) higher animal, and to reproduce it in literature. A melancholy Arnold, brooding on the mystery of the world, came to the conclusion :—

‘Alone, self-poised, henceforward man  
Must labour, must resign  
His all too human creeds, and scan  
Simply the way divine.’

He, like Tennyson, stood at the parting of the ways in belief. But he did not, like Tennyson, find relief in Broad Churchism, or pin his faith in the ‘Christ that is to be.’ For him on the contrary, that Christ is dead—

‘Far hence he lies  
In the lone Syrian town,  
And on his grave, with shining eyes,  
The Syrian stars look down.’

Yet Arnold still clung to the ‘way divine.’ A generation of thinkers and poets alike is springing up, the bulk of whom, if they know Arnold at all, regard him as the Encyclopædist regarded Voltaire, with pitying contempt. Probably there is not, as there is on the Continent, a distinct school of Haeckelians, of men who have elevated or degraded Darwinism into a fanaticism of materialism, who are dogmatic atheists, who say there is no future life in the ordinary theological sense, and whose ethic—if they can be said to have any ethic at all—comes to this, that he alone is wise who seeks to make the best of this world, seeing that there is no other world for him to make anything of at all. But as men and women are and must be dependent upon each other, Haeckelianism seeks to make Socialism a science of gregariousness. Gregariousness takes the place of the socio-political spirit; and religion, even in the sense of the Enthusiasm of Humanity, tends to become, even though it may not yet have become, the ecstasy of the senses. Haeckelianism has not yet found its poet; even Socialism in the comparatively mild sense, has not yet found its Ebenezer Elliot. But when he is found, and when he seeks, in accordance with his mission, to apply to life the ideas of which he is at once the repository and the champion, he will certainly not seek to ‘scan simply the way divine.’ Rather will he endeavour, eagerly if not feverishly, to explore the human way, as the only way open to him. Nor will he be deterred from fulfilling his mission by scruples as to offending the believers in creeds which, whether religious or metaphysical, social or political, he considers to be all compact of superstition. How far the new philosophy of negation is expressed by Ibsen and by writers who have carried Ibsenism much further than their master, it does not fall within the scope of this article to consider. There is no question, however, that although the home of this philosophy is the Continent, it has not been without various results in this country. It is to be seen

in an outbreak of realism and sensuousness—the two things are perhaps allied, but are not necessarily identical—in recent poetry. Both are characteristic of that ‘mere animalism’ which is the essence of that negative creed, composed more of fear perhaps than of faith, that is seeking to make a modern democracy its own. But, although Haeckelianism may be Evolution aggressive and fanatical if not ‘progressive,’ it still bears to Darwinism proper the relation of the part to the whole. Whether or not Haeckelianism is destined to win the day, Evolution has certainly already triumphed, and the chief result it has achieved in literature has been, as indeed was but to be expected, the development of specialisation.

Three things, therefore, may be given as characterising recent poetry—realism, sensuousness, and specialisation. On the whole, realism is, of the three, in all respects, the most impressive and the most suggestive of permanence. And the leading modern masters of realism—a realism which was probably never contemplated or dreamed of by Tennyson or Browning—are Mr. Henley and Mr. Davidson, who, dissimilar though they are, are the strongest of contemporary poets, at all events of the school who regard Mr. Swinburne, Sir Edwin Arnold, and the two Morrises as oldsters, if not old-fashioned. Mr. Henley has published several volumes of prose and verse, in all of which the merciless artist is perhaps more in evidence than the sweet singer. But, in spite of the excellence of some of the London ‘Voluntaries,’ and even of the ardent Kipling patriotism of the ‘Song of the Sword,’ which appears in his latest volume, I think his best work is to be seen in his ‘In Hospital,’ mainly because, to a very large extent, it is admittedly a transcript of personal experience. There is the odour of chloroform about the ‘Hospital’ verses; they are infinitely more suggestive of pain than of pleasure. But they are obviously full of truth. Take for example:—

‘ He had fallen from an engine,  
And been dragged along the metals.  
It was hopeless, and they knew it ;  
So they covered him and left him  
As he lay, by fits half sentient,  
Inarticulately moaning.

With his stocking feet protruded,  
Stark and awkward from the blankets.  
To his bed there came a woman,  
Stood and looked and sighed a little,  
And departed without speaking  
As himself a few hours after.

I was told it was his sweetheart.  
They were on the eve of marriage,  
She was quiet as a statue,  
But her lip was gray and writhen.'

The first lines are distinctly Zolaesque in their reproduction of misery and pain; but they are relieved by the romance of the last, disguised as that romance is by essentially Scottish pathos. The 'tragedy in humble life' is perfect as it is painful. Nor is it marred by any of those tricks of rhetoric, which the mere poetaster finds refuge in; Mr. Henley commands that 'direct speaking style' which his friend, the late Mr. R. L. Stevenson, so highly commended. Not less real, though in a lighter vein, is 'The Staff-Nurse' (New Style)—

' Kindly and calm, patrician to the last,  
Superbly falls her gown of sober gray,  
And in her chignon's elegant array  
The plainest cap is somehow touched with caste  
She talks Beethoven; frowns disapprobation  
At Balzac's name, sighs at "poor George Sand's;"  
Knows that she has exceedingly pretty hands;  
Speaks Latin with a right accentuation;  
And gives at need (as one who understands)  
Draught, counsel, diagnosis, exhortation.'

Mr. Davidson's realism is quite as genuine as Mr. Henley's. But it is of another sort. Mr. Henley is an artist to the finger-tips; Mr. Davidson is a Scottish preacher—with, apparently, the bottom of his creed of Calvinism knocked out. And like all the best Scottish lay preachers,—like Carlyle, like Burns—Mr. Davidson is at his best when he is most defiant, when he is giving utterance to the very spirit of rebellion. I cannot say, indeed, that I am specially enamoured of the 'Exodus from Houndsditch' which appears in his latest volume, and has secured very high praise from a number of critics. It is impossible to disassociate this phrase from its inventor,

Carlyle, who used it to indicate the escape of the modern spirit from what he evidently regarded as the merely Hebraic conception of the universe. One can quite understand a poem upon the exodus from Houndsditch, regarded as a new Pagan Renaissance, or even as the complete surrender of the supernatural. But if Mr. Davidson had the Carlylian idea in his mind when he wrote 'The Exodus from Houndsditch,' he certainly gives it such a clothing of fantasy that it is not recognisable. Nor can much be said for his 'Ballad in blank verse on the making of a Poet,' which is in many respects the most ambitious of all his efforts, and which undoubtedly represents the attempt of a young man to break with the creed of his father, and to be a creed—and even a god—to himself. But, powerful as it is in many respects, and containing single passages—like the one beginning 'Sparse diamonds in the dead-black dome of night,' at least equal to anything their author has written—it is too violent to be quite real. It is, however, in certain of his less ambitious poems—so far as scope is concerned—that Mr. Davidson's true and special power is exhibited. In his 'Thirty Bob a Week' we have, so to speak, the Confession of Faith of the poor Cockney clerk, who would quarrel with his dreary destiny if he durst—

' For like a mole I journey in the dark,  
A-travelling along the underground,  
From my Pillared Halls and broad Suburban Park,  
To come the daily dull official round ;  
And home again at night with my pipe all alight,  
A-scheming how to count ten bob a pound.

' And it's often very cold and very wet,  
And my missis stitches towels for a hunks ;  
And the Pillared Halls is half of it to let—  
Three rooms about the size of travelling trunks ;  
And we cough, my wife and I, to dislocate a sigh,  
When the noisy little kids are in their bunks.

' But you never hear her do a growl or whine,  
For she's made of flint and roses, very odd ;  
And I've got to cut my meaning rather fine,  
Or I'd blubber, for I'm made of greens and sod ;  
So perhaps we are in Hell for all that I can tell,  
And lost and damn'd and served up hot to God.'

Such writing is repellent—perhaps even repulsive—but it has all the reality of passion heated red hot. Equally real—in the sense of being morally squalid—but somewhat softer, is ‘The Labourer’s Wife,’ with the hopeless pathos of—

‘ What a simpleton was I  
 To go and marry on the sly !  
 Now I work and never play ;  
 Three pale children all the day  
 Fight and whine ; and Dick, my man,  
 Is drunk as often as he can.  
 Oh ! my head and bones are sore,  
 And my heart is hacked all o’er.’

Mr. Davidson is seen not perhaps at his best—in the sense of most melodious—but certainly at his most real, in a volume bearing the title of *In a Music Hall, and other Poems*, though it is more unequal than *Ballads and Songs*. I should say that there has never been anything of its kind quite so good—at all events quite so modern and true—of their kind as the portraits of the six ‘artists’ in the series of poems which gives the title to this volume. Take ‘Tom Jenks’—

‘ A fur-collared coat and a stick and a ring,  
 And a chimney-pot hat to the side—that’s me !  
 I’m a music-hall singer that never could sing,  
 I’m a sort of fellow like that, do you see ?

‘ I go pretty high in my line, I believe,  
 Which is comic, and commonplace too, may be ;  
 I was once a job-lot, though, and didn’t receive  
 The lowest price paid in the biz, do you see ?

‘ I’m jolly, and sober, and fond of my wife ;  
 And she and the kids, they’re as happy as me.  
 I was once in a draper’s ; but this kind of life  
 Gives a fellow more time to himself, do you see ?’

Or take ‘Julian Aragon,’ the Californian comique :—

‘ “ My nature’s a perennial somersault,”  
 So you say, and so I think ; but whose the fault ?  
 If I don’t know good from evil,  
 Is it wrong to be a devil ?  
 You don’t get lime-juice cordial out of malt.

' But I'm plump and soft and strong and tall and sleek,  
 And I pocket twenty guineas every week ;  
 I journey up and down,  
 I've sweethearts in each town,  
 I'm the famous Californian Comique.'

Or even take poor 'Lily Dale'—

' I can't sing a bit, I can't shout,  
 But I go through my songs with a birr ;  
 And I always contrive to bring out  
 The meaning that tickles you, sir.'

They were written for me ; they're the rage ;  
 They're the plainest, the wildest, the slyest ;  
 For I find on the music-hall stage,  
 That that kind of song goes the highest.'

How far and rapidly we have proceeded on the road—is it down the hill ?—of realism in these latest years of the century may be gathered by contrasting the 'Thirty Bob a week' of Mr. Davidson with the placid realism of Arthur Hugh Clough.

' A Highland inn amongst the western hills,  
 A single parlour, single bed, that fills  
 With fisher or with tourist as may be ;  
 A waiting maid as fair as you can see,  
 With hazel eyes, and frequent blushing face,  
 And ample brow, and with a rustic grace,  
 In all her easy ample motions seen,  
 Large of her age, which haply is nineteen ;  
 Christian her name, in full a pleasant name,  
 Christian and Christie scarcely seem the same ;  
 A college fellow who has sent away  
 The pupils he has taught for many a day,  
 And comes for fishing and for solitude,  
 Perhaps a trifle pensive in his mood,  
 An aspiration and a thought have failed,  
 Where he had hoped, another has prevailed,  
 But to the joys of hill and stream alive  
 And in his boyhood yet at twenty-five.'

To many, in whose eyes Duty is still 'stern daughter of the voice of God,' and still also 'victory and law, when empty terrors overawe,' such passages as this which almost justify the belief that had not Clough fallen upon a period of unrest and felt compelled by his conscience to grapple with its problems, he might have

become a second Chaucer, present the true and only permanent realism—the realism of rest from labour under congenial surroundings. But the other exists and is indeed thrust under the eyes. It may be but a passing fashion, but it is a literary phenomenon of the period which cannot be ignored.

In a time characterised by the fear, if not by the faith, that there is no world but the present, it is but natural that sensuousness, in the comprehensive sense, should be one of the leading features of our poetry. If this world is the only one that we have to look to, let us make the most of it while we may. If it is our destiny to die to-morrow, let us eat, drink, and be merry during the hour which is or seems to be ours. Material science, too, has come to the aid of the new creed of materialism; above all, modern facilities for travel have placed the means and the scenes of that pleasure which is synonymous with the enjoyment of nature, at the command of an enormously increased number of men and women. It is as in the days of the Pagan Renascence; the joys of mere existence have been re-discovered and have been celebrated afresh. It is but natural that poetry, which, according to one definition, ought always to be ‘simple, sensuous, passionate,’ should seek even more to resolve itself into the ecstasy of the senses. We have had, indeed, the foreshadowing of such verse in Tennyson and Swinburne; the Spenserian splendours of the author of ‘The Princess,’ and the fierce eroticism of such a poem as the ‘Noyades,’ have not been without their effect upon the younger poets of the day. Nay, could not Mr. Browning show, in his ‘Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister,’ that he could have eaten freely of the forbidden tree, had he been so minded, for does not the sensual priest who, on the sly, gloats over his ‘scrofulous French novel on gray paper with blunt type,’ break out :—

‘Saint forsooth ! while brown Dolores  
Squats outside the Convent bank,  
With Sanchicha, telling stories,  
Steeping tresses in the tank,  
Blue-black, lustrous, thick like horsehairs,  
Can’t I see his dead eye glow,  
Bright as ’twere a Barbary corsair’s ?  
(That is, if he’d let it show).’

But Tennyson's splendours are chastened, as by the stained glass of a cathedral window. Mr. Swinburne's erotics have scarcely even the sweetness of stolen waters, for they are banned by the Church, and we are for ever reminded by him that the wages of sin is death without benefit of clergy. Browning's excursions into the land of the forbidden again are few and give no impression of self-abandonment—they are but an intellectual and slightly scornful recognition of the permanent truth that underlies the *quicquid agunt homines* creed. The tendency of their successors of the present day, however, is to proclaim *urbi et orbi* the doctrine that there is nothing wrong, nothing to be ashamed of, in this ecstasy of the senses, that whatever is natural is right. So far, more particularly, as the relations between the sexes is concerned, there is a return to the sentiments and even to the mannerisms of Herrick. Take, for example, Mr. William Watson, who is being hailed in many quarters as the one poet of the time who is fit to be ranked with the immortals, and who has undoubtedly shown a marvellous facility in catching the accent of many of them. His themes are as a rule outside—if not above—the world of mere mortal passion. But, when he does condescend to deal with it, it is thus that he writes—

' Tell me not now the tidings sweet,  
The news divine ;  
A little longer at thy feet  
Leave me to pine.  
I would not have the gadding bird  
Hear from his bough ;  
Nay, though I famish for a word,  
Tell me not now !  
But when deep trances of delight  
All Nature seal,  
When round the world the arms of Night  
Careressing steal,  
When rose to dreaming rose says, *Dear*  
*Dearest*—and when  
Heaven sighs her secret in earth's ear,  
Oh tell me then !

When one recalls

' Some asked me where the Rubies grew,  
And nothing did I say ;  
But with my finger pointed to  
The lips of Julia.'

one thinks of Mr. Watson's erotics as so much Herrick and aërated water.

But of all the younger singers the most permanently and fantastically sensuous is Mr. Richard le Gallienne. In what is perhaps his best and is certainly his most ambitious volume, he devoted a long poem, 'Paolo and Francesca' to the rapture and tragedy of illicit love. He thus dilates upon what must surely be regarded as a Forth Bridge achievement in osculation :

' Then from the silence sprang a kiss like flame,  
And they hung lost together ; while around  
The world was changed, no more to be the same  
Meadow or sky, no little flower or sound  
Again the same, for earth grew holy ground :  
While in the silence of the mounting moon  
Infinite love throbbed in the straining bound  
Of that great kiss, the long-delaying boon,  
Granted indeed at last, but ended, ah ! so soon.

' As the great sobbing fullness of the sea  
Fills to the throat some void and aching cave,  
Till all its hollows tremble silently,  
Pressed with sweet weight of softly lapping wave ;  
So kissed those mighty lovers glad and brave,  
As a sky from which the sun has gone  
Trembles all night with all the stars he gave—  
A firmament of memories of the sun—  
So thrilled and thrilled each life when that great kiss was done.'

But Mr. Le Gallienne indeed exhibits passion under the microscope. He gives us seventeen studies in 'Love Platonic,' the character of which may be gathered from

' What was it we swore ?  
Evermore  
I and thou—  
Oh, but Fate held the pen  
And wrote N  
Just before ;

So that now,  
See it stands,  
Our seals and our hands,  
I and thou  
Nevermore.'

Sir John Suckling could hardly beat this. Mr. Le Gallienne gives, in 'Cor Cordium' quite as many studies of the more genuine passion; and there is a suggestion, to say the least, of Donne in such verses as

‘ Darling little woman, just a little line,  
Just a little silver word  
For that dear gold of thine,  
Only a whisper you have so often heard ;  
Only such a whisper as hidden in a shell  
Holds a little wealth of all the mighty sea,  
But think what a little is this little note of me.  
  
‘ Darling, I love thee, that is all I live for—  
There is the whisper stealing from the shell,  
But here is the ocean, O so deep and boundless,  
And each little wave with its whisper as well.’

The same fantastic sensuousness is to be found in almost all of the younger poets. Take as an instance Mr. Robert Bridges, whose earlier work seemed to mark him out as the modern Sir John Denham of the modern Thames. Yet he too can, when he chooses, compete with Mr. Le Gallienne, as in

‘ I made another song,  
In likeness of my love,  
And sang it all day long,  
Around, beneath, above ;  
I told my secret out,  
That none might be in doubt.  
  
I sang it to the sky  
That veiled his face to hear  
How far her azure eye  
Outdoes his splendid sphere ;  
But at her eyelids’ name  
His white clouds fled for shame.’

Here we have not the Mr. Robert Bridges that will live; that is the Mr. Bridges who many years ago gave us ‘the clear and gentle stream’ with

' There is a hill beside the silver Thames,  
Shady with birch and beech and odorous pine,  
And brilliant under foot with thousand gems,  
Steeply the thickets to his floods decline ;  
Straight trees in every place  
Their thick tops interlace  
And pendent branches hail their foliage fine  
Upon his watery face.'

The third characteristic of the poetry of the period—and not unallied to the two others—is specialisation. This was, indeed, inevitable, for specialisation has followed in the wake of Evolution. The expert, the perfection of the limited man, is the master of the situation. It was to be expected that he should appear in poetry, that the artist in love should be he who confines himself to his mistress' eyebrow. Even Mr. Davidson and Mr. Henley, in spite of their irrepressible virility, occasionally find it incumbent upon them to specialise. They are not always, it is true, perfectly successful. Take, for example, Mr. Davidson's 'Song of the Train' with its—

' The song it sings  
Has an iron sound,  
Its iron wings  
Like wheels go round.

' Crash under bridges,  
Flash over ridges,  
And vault the downs ;  
The road is straight—  
Nor stile, nor gate :  
For milestones—towns.'

Such lines, I fear, only suggest a comparison with Tennyson's 'Brook,' and one only too favourable for the earlier poet. In Mr. Henley's *London Voluntaries*, again, there is much 'paint,'—the word is this author's own—which is of very high quality, indeed, and his attempt to grapple with the problem of London from the artist-specialist's point of view, is a most gallant one. These *London Voluntaries* would, indeed, deserve the too heavy-shotted eulogium that they have received were their quality always equal to that of such lines as—

' And lo ! a little wind and sky,  
The smell of ships (that earnest of romance),

A sense of space and water, and thereby  
 A lamplit bridge touching the troubled sky,  
 And look, O look, a tangle of silver gleams  
 And dusky lights, our River and all his dreams,  
 His dreams of a dead past that cannot die !'

But Mr. Henley in his anxiety—the fatal anxiety of the specialist—to emphasise, is too apt to waste himself in mere resonance. Thus :—

' Out of the poisonous East,  
 Over a continent of blight,  
 Like a maleficent Influence released  
 From the most squalid cellarage of hell,  
 The Wind-Fiend, the abominable—  
 The hangman wind that tortures temper and light  
 Comes slouching, sullen and obscene,  
 Hard on the skirts of the embittered night.'

This is not poetry ; it is, at the best, Mesopotamian rhetoric. Grandiloquence—into which the specialist naturally falls in his desire to invest the little with the attributes of strength—is, indeed, the besetting weakness of the poetry of to-day. Mr. Watson in particular is the Sir Charles Grandison of present day verse. He cannot picture an Angora goat watching a collie dog otherwise than thus :—

' She, throned in monumental calm, surveyed  
 His effervescence, volatility,  
 Clamour on slight occasions, fussiness,  
 Herself immobile, imperturbable,  
 Like one whose vision seeks the Immanent  
 Behind these symbols and appearances,  
 The face within this transitory mask.  
 And as her eyes with indolent regard  
 Viewed his upbubbings of ebullient life,  
 She seemed the Orient Spirit incarnate, lost  
 In contemplation of the western soul,  
 Ev'n so methought, the genius of the East,  
 Reposeful, patient, undemonstrative,  
 Luxurious, enigmatically sage,  
 Dispassionately cruel, might look down  
 On all the fever of the Occident.'

Gorgeous this may be, and no doubt it is a poetry of a kind, but it will not cling to the memory like :—

'The brooding East with awe beheld  
Her impious younger world,  
The Roman tempest swell'd and swell'd,  
And on her head was hurl'd.  
The East bow'd low before the blast  
In patient deep disdain ;  
She let the legions thunder past  
And plunged in thought again ;'

which conveys an idea almost identical with Mr. Watson's. But of the younger poets, beyond all question the most pronouncedly specialistic and eloquent is Mr. Francis Thompson, who is discovered by his admirers to be a second Milton. But surely there is more of Samuel Johnson, if not of Madame D'Arblay and Robert Montgomery, in a 'Judgment of Heaven,' which opens thus :—

'Athwart the sod which is treading for God the poet paced with his  
splendid eyes ;  
Paradise-verdure he stately passes to win to the Father of Paradise,  
Through the conscious and palpitant grasses of intertwined relucent dyes.  
The angels a-play on its fields of Summer (their wild wings rustled his  
guides' cymars)  
Looked up from disport at the passing comer, as they pelted each other  
with handfuls of stars ;  
And the warden-spirits with startled feet rose, hand on sword, by their  
tethered cars.  
With plumes night-tinctured, englobed and cinctured of saints, his guided  
steps held on,  
To where on the far crystalline pale of that transtellar Heaven there shone  
The immutable crocean dawn effusing from the Father's Throne.'

And so thus onward the poet fares

'Till heavily parts a sinister chasm, a grisly jaw whose verges soon  
Slowly and ominously felled by the oncoming plenilune,  
Supportlessly congest with fire, and suddenly spit forth the moon.'

The only explanation given by way of excuse for the Latinisms with which Mr. Thompson's poems are studded is that they express *nuances* which would otherwise fail to be expressed. He is a martyr to his own art. He is not quite so obscure in such poems as 'Her Portrait,' but surely in the following we have Sir Piercie Shafton revived—

' I have felt what terrors may consort  
 In women's cheeks, the graces' soft resort ;  
 My hand hath shook at gentle hands' access,  
 And trembled at the waving of a tress ;  
 My blood known panic fear, and fled dismayed,  
 Where ladies' eyes have set their ambuscade.  
 The rustle of a robe hath been to me  
 The airy rattle of love's musketry ;  
 Although my heart hath beat the loud advance,  
 I have recoiled before a challenging glance,  
 Proved gay alarms where warlike ribbons dance.'

And yet Mr. Thompson's smaller studies prove that he is capable of better—at all events simpler—things. In his delicious little sketch 'Daisy' there are some perfect verses, like

' The hills look over on the South,  
 And southward dreams the sea ;  
 And, with the sea-breeze hand in hand,  
 Come innocence and she.'

Of all the specialists among the younger poets, there is, however, none who appears so much at home in his Meissonier-like art as Mr. Norman Gale. His work—of which his 'Orchard Songs' are perhaps the best—has not the accent of greatness or even the note of distinction. But it must at least be admitted that Mr. Gale has mastered his subject to the smallest detail. When he writes of a walk to 'storm the Cotswolds,' he is almost as closely observant as Thoreau.

' The great tit in the apple-tree  
 Delayed us long :  
 The shrill staccato song  
 The creeper chirped amid his industry  
 Drew us from pollard on to pollard, till  
 We drank our fill  
 Of that white-feathered patch, his breast,  
 His lusty bill  
 That with detective skill  
 Stabbed at each crevice in the wood  
 In search of food.  
 'Twas through an orchard valley that we passed,  
 And all the pear-tree boles were painted white.'

Mr. Bridges is not, perhaps, quite so photographically accurate as Mr. Gale, but when he lets himself go he gives the impression of

greater abundance of reserve force. None other of the younger poets could, for example, tell the last chapter of the fall of an autumn storm better than Mr. Bridges has done here :

' The storm is over, the land hushes to rest ;  
The tyrannous wind, its strength fordone,  
Is fallen back in the west  
To couch with the sinking sun.  
The last clouds fare  
With fainting speed, and their thin streamers fly  
In melting drifts of the sky.  
Already the birds in the air  
Appear again ; the rooks return to their haunt,  
And one by one,  
Proclaiming aloud their care,  
Renew their peaceful chant.  
Torn and shattered the trees their branches again reset,  
They trim afresh the fair  
Few green and golden leaves withheld from the storm,  
And awhile will be handsome yet.  
To-morrow's sun shall caress  
Their remnant of loveliness ;  
In quiet days for a time  
Sad Autumn lingering warm  
Shall humour their faded prime.'

This is verse of a very fine quality, and full of reality. The little volume from which I have taken it is not all so excellent, but yet it contains so many good things that I feel confident that although, at present, Mr. Bridges is one of the least obtrusive and least 'boomed' of our poets, he will, fifty years hence, be accounted one of the first—if not positively the first—of the end-of-the-century artists. For that simplicity which used to be regarded as the very soul of poetry, it would be hard to beat this from 'The Winnowers' :—

' One turns the crank, one stoops to feed  
The hopper, lest it lack,  
One in the bushel scoops the seed,  
One stands to hold the sack.  
  
' We watched the good grain rattle down,  
And the awns fly in the draught ;  
To see us both so pensive grown  
The honest labourers laughed :

' Merry they were, because the wheat  
     Was clean and plump and good,  
     Pleasant to hand and eye, and meet  
     For market and for food.

' It chanced we from the city were,  
     And had not got us free  
     In spirit from the store and stir  
     Of its immensity ;

' But here we found ourselves again  
     Where humble harvests bring  
     After much toil but little grain  
     'Tis merry winnowing.'

' To see us both so pensive grown  
     The honest labourers laughed,'

is worthy of Goldsmith or of the Cowper who wrote 'John Gilpin.'

I have omitted many of the younger poets from this survey. That was inevitable, because what Byron said of heroes in his day may be said of poets in our own—

' Every year and month sends forth a new one,  
     And, after cloying the *Gazettes* with cant,  
     The age discovers he is not the true one.'

Scarcely indeed does there appear a new number of *The Yellow Book*—that extraordinary production, which itself holds the mirror up to the 'end-of-the-century' British literature,—but a new poet makes his appearance in it. Possibly enough one of these may be the 'demigod whom we await.' There is at least promise, in the shape of Celtic fire and lyrical daintiness, in Mr. W. B. Yeats, but he has not yet done enough to justify any prediction as to his future. Sweetness, too, and sincerity, and what is known as 'willowy elegance,' mark the verse of Mr. Arthur Symons. But, in the meantime, he is so obviously in the grasp of the French Decadence, that the criticism of *aut Verlaine aut diabolus* which has been passed upon him, seems but too well justified. It will be time enough to endeavour to give him his place in British letters when he has done something which can fairly be regarded as original.

The thin austerity of Thoreau will, in spite of his genuine

love of nature and his uncompromising veracity, prevent him from being ever regarded as a profound critic. Yet one observation of his seems specially applicable to the poetry of the present day :—‘Much verse fails of being poetry because it was not written exactly at the right crisis, though it may have been inconceivably near to it.’ We have ‘much verse’ at the present time which just falls short of being poetry in the true sense of the word, because it has not been ‘written exactly at the right crisis.’ When the hour, or the poetical moment comes, the man will doubtless appear. Many have been, or felt themselves, called to write the song of the new era, but it remains to be seen whether even Mr. Davidson has been chosen. The great bulk of the verse that is being produced has the air of pioneer poetry. It has vigour, audacity, self-consciousness, and at least the instinct for splendour in style. But it has also many and equally obvious weaknesses,—ultra-sensuousness, Herrick-like affectations, grotesque ornateness, no less grotesque minuteness in the description of details. One thing only is certain : the end of the century sees the earlier Victorian period finally broken with. Already Mr. Swinburne is adored rather than read ; and Mr. Browning is the fetish of a Society. Tennyson ? Well, Mr. Lewis Morris has been made a knight, and is not Mr. Watson a ‘survival’ of Tennyson ? But a knighthood is the poet’s retiring allowance of dignity after years of respectable if mediocre service ; and is not the industrious and musical author of *Lachrymæ Musarum*, who can imitate any poet, neither more nor less than a bundle of ‘survivals?’ The reign of Tennyson—of cosmic pantheism, of feudal picturesqueness—is over. Whether a greater era is about to dawn with the commencement of a new century, it would be impossible to say. Nor is the character of the present poetical output such as to justify a confident prediction.

WILLIAM WALLACE.

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## ART. VII.—SANCTA SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

*The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople : A Study of Byzantine Building.* By W. R. LETHABY and HAROLD SWAINSON. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1894.

THE Church of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople has been, and still remains at the present day, practically a sealed book to the archaeologist and the student of architecture. While the great architectural monuments of the past in other parts of Europe are easily accessible for the purposes of practical study and analysis, it is only by stealth that one can examine the structure of this church and glean fresh information regarding the details of its construction and decoration. We therefore gladly welcome any work, like the volume now before us, that helps to increase our knowledge of this interesting building, which, ever since its erection more than 1350 years ago, has been a source of wonder and delight to all beholders.

Once only did the opportunity for detailed investigation present itself ; the occasion came about in the year 1847, when, owing to the dangerous state of the fabric, the Sultan Abdul Mesjid called in an Italian architect named Fossati to advise regarding its reparation. Under his superintendence the building was put into a thorough state of repair, and it is probably owing to the care with which this was carried through that it remains at the present day structurally sound. During the time the building was in the hands of the workmen, a German architect, Salzenburg, taking advantage of the presence of extensive scaffolding, made very careful plans of the building, and drawings of the details of its decoration. These were published by the Prussian Government in the year 1854, and they form the principal records available for the purposes of study.\*

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\* Fossati also published some drawings, and there exists, in the Library of the Royal Institute of British Architects in London, a number of plans by the French archaeologist Texier, made in the year 1834.

Although these drawings give us a very clear idea of the building and its details, there are still many points the why and the wherefore of which are wrapt in obscurity, and each fresh investigation helps to add to the sum of our knowledge on the whole subject.

Many descriptions of the church have been written from time to time, but the finest and most complete must always remain that embodied in the contemporary poem by Paul the Silentary, which, as our authors suggest, was probably written in the church itself, and was, they think, recited during the ceremony of 24th December, 563, when the repairs and partial reconstruction, rendered necessary through the damage caused by an earthquake in the year 558, having been completed, the church was re-consecrated in the presence of the Emperor and his Court.

In the preface to their work our authors say:—

‘Our first object has been to attempt some disentanglement of the history of the church and an analysis of its design and construction ; on the one hand, we have been led a step or two into the labyrinth of Constantinopolitan topography ; on the other, we have thought that the great church offers the best point of view for the observation of the Byzantine theory of building.’

They appear to have carefully gone over everything that has been written regarding the church, from the time of its erection by Justinian down to the present day, and we find brought together in the text, as an important part of the whole work, very careful translations of everything that can in any way help towards the elucidation of its history, or that is explanatory of its arrangement and construction. The methods of construction employed by the builders have also been minutely analysed, and are discussed in considerable detail, and many new theories are put forward, alike regarding the internal arrangements of the building, the disposition of the decorative scheme, and the practical development of the craftsmanship.

The arrangement of the city at the time of Constantine, as far as it relates to the site and surroundings of the Church, is discussed in detail in chapter I., and the form and disposition of the first church is also considered. When the Emperor selected Byzantium as the site of the new capital of the Empire

in the East, the old settlement established there in the seventh century B.C., by Greek colonists from Megara, had expanded into a considerable city adorned with coloured porticoes, stately buildings and sacred shrines. The new capital was enlarged and enriched by Constantine in the prevailing style of the period, and the buildings which he erected were largely based on the models of those he had left behind him in the old Rome. The topography of the city has been the subject of considerable speculation by numerous writers through many centuries and much of it is still wrapt in obscurity—many theories having been put forward only to be controverted and superseded. The Great Palace has been the special object of much discussion, and writers like Labarte, Paspates, and others, have devoted much time and ingenuity to the work of trying to unravel the intricacies of its plan and arrangement. These, however, need not detain us here. Mordtmann, a German doctor resident in Constantinople, has made the topography of the city his special study, and his spare time has been given over to careful research and investigation of the old sites. The results of his labours are embodied in a plan of the city published in 1872, on which many reliable identifications are set down. Our authors put forward a small plan of their own illustrating their views regarding the disposition of the Acropolis and its surroundings at the time of Constantine. We think the evidence which they adduce to show that the Augusteum and the Forum of Constantine were two separate and distinct places, bears out their contention that the former occupied the site to the south-west of the church, while the latter was a circular space round the porphyry column of Constantine—the burnt pillar—and that they were separated by the whole length of the *Mese*, which they identify with the Porticoes of Severus mentioned by Zosimus.

The balance of evidence seems to show that the first church dedicated to the Holy Wisdom was founded by Constantine, although it was not finished during his reign. It is very probable that it occupied the site of an old temple. On this point our authors make the following remarks:—

‘There cannot be a doubt that the present S. Sophia occupies the site of the first church. A church once made holy by dedication and the re-

ception of relics could not be transported. Indeed it is possible that it may occupy the site of one of the Greek temples, for there was a constant tendency to this supersession on one sacred site ; and the present church stands on the very crest of the old Acropolis. If there were any sufficient reason to identify the site with that of the Altar of Pallas, the dedication of the church itself would evidently be one of the many instances of a transference of title from the old worship.'

They also point out that the lines of the ancient Hippodrome and probably of other pre-Christian structures were set out axially with it.

They are inclined to the view that the entrance of the first church was at the east end, as was usually the case in early churches up till the fifth century, and they also suggest that the structure was of basilican form. There is every reason to suppose that they are right in both these contentions. A very ingenious theory is put forward to account for the curious plan of the present church. It is suggested that the church was of small size and that its apse was situated at about the same position as that now occupied by the western hemicycle of the present church ; that after the Nika fire, when the church was about to be reconstructed—turning the apse towards the east as had become customary by that time—the lines of the old apse suggested the retention of the form at that end as well. The squareness of the plan is accounted for elsewhere as being the outcome of the practical exigencies of the site.

It is also suggested, with apparent show of reason, that the circular brick building lying close to the north-east angle of the present church was the original baptistery of the first church, and a reference to the Silentriary's account of the present church is given to show that it was used as such, even after the new church had been in existence for over twenty-five years. The building, therefore, which is now known as the Baptistry, and which lies to the south of the church, must either have been built for or diverted to that purpose at a later time.

During the two centuries which intervened between the reigns of Constantine and Justinian, the Roman methods of building underwent considerable change. The constant recurrence of serious fires in the new capital had destroyed a number of the buildings which had been erected by Constantine. As

these buildings were mostly constructed with beamed roofs and flat wooden ceilings they fell an easy prey to the flames. The first church of S. Sophia had been at least once seriously injured by fire before the Nika conflagration finally destroyed it.

Since the time of Constantine, artificers had been attracted to the city from all parts of the Empire, and these brought with them the knowledge of the methods in vogue in their particular provinces. The influence of Eastern forms of construction gradually became apparent in the more general use of the arch and the vault. It was a time of experiment and progress both in construction and in the arrangement and form of the decorative features. There was no fixed tradition, the old decadent art of the Romans grafted on to a Greek stock and, plentifully nourished by ideas gathered from all parts of the Empire, blossomed out into new life : the Greek intellect, ever eager after a new thing, absorbed all the Greek methods, and gradually evolved a type which it made peculiarly its own. Eventually the old stone lintel and beamed roof were entirely superseded by the arch and the vault, and the structures were crowned with domes rising above the vaults and dominating the whole composition. The form of the plans adapted themselves to the new construction, as did also the arrangements of the decorative scheme. By the time Justinian came to the throne the new methods and forms had established themselves, and the burning of the Church of S. Sophia during the Nika riots furnished the opportunity which was wanting for erecting a large building on the new lines, which should eclipse everything that had gone before. The Emperor took full advantage of the occasion which presented itself, to invite artificers and craftsmen of repute from the provinces to Constantinople—it is worthy of notice that the chief constructor, Anthemius, and his colleague, Isidorus, both came from Asia Minor—and neither skill nor money was wanting to make the new effort a success, new taxes being imposed to meet the gigantic expenditure.

Materials were brought from far and near, Egypt and Greece uniting with Asia Minor and the islands, each contiguous to the Capital, in supplying their quota of marble for the columns and walls. For nearly six years the works went on with

unabated energy, many difficulties were overcome, and many experiments were tried and found successful, and at length on 26th December, 537, the church was dedicated amidst the acclamations of the populace, and the Emperor exclaimed in the fullness of his pride, ‘Glory be to God, who hath thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work. I have vanquished thee, O Solomon !’

The Emperor’s joy in his church was, however, destined to receive a rude shock some twenty years later, when the apse and part of the dome were thrown down by an earthquake ; but the same energy which was shown in the building of the church again asserted itself. The damage was repaired,—the dome being heightened 20 feet to give it additional security,—and the church was re-consecrated on the 24th of December, 563, five and a half years after the disaster.

The church of S. Sophia has never been surpassed in the unity and completeness of its design, and in the daring nature of its construction. In this building the arch and dome assert themselves and dominate everything, and we have a lightness, a spaciousness, and a grandeur that had never been reached in the finest of the basilicas, and has never been surpassed since. During all the centuries which have elapsed since its erection, it has maintained its supremacy as the masterpiece of Byzantine architecture and construction, and it fixed generally the type on which most of the later churches in the East were based, but it has never been surpassed by any of them.

Of the several descriptions of the church, that of Procopius, which is contained in his *History of the Edifices erected by Justinian*, for the reason that it makes no mention of the earthquake of 558, is supposed by our authors to have been written previous to that catastrophe. It is a rather florid general description, largely laudatory of the Emperor and much exaggerating his share in the work. Nothing very tangible is to be gleaned from it.

Three other contemporary descriptions are extant, viz., those of Paul the Silentary, Agathias and Evagrius. Agathias mentions that, when the earthquake occurred, Anthemius was dead, but his colleague, Isidorus, carried out the repairs. He alludes

to an alteration which was made at the north and south main arches—this is discussed further on in the book—and he mentions that the curve of the dome was increased. Evagrius quotes a number of dimensions, but these our authors do not venture to discuss as they say that they appear to be so inaccurate. We find, however, on comparing them with the plan that at least two of them tally very nearly, while the others are capable of being explained.\* We should say that the 200 feet quoted as the total length is a mistake for 300 feet.

The well known poem of Paul the Silentary is a panegyric in praise of the beauty and richness of the building, couched in most beautiful language. It is at the same time a really detailed description of the church of a most minute nature and of great accuracy. Our authors have embodied in their book a very careful translation of the parts actually descriptive of the building and its furnishings. They devote a special chapter to the third part, which describes the magnificent ambo, the chief feature of the interior, and which was set up by Justinian during the repairs, the earlier one having been entirely destroyed by the falling in of the apse and part of the dome. They also give a plan of this, and in their general plan of the church, they have shown it in what they consider to have been its position in the interior of the structure. We do not doubt that their views as to the arrangement of this are, in the main, correct, since they are based on the very detailed description of the poet; and they have been guided in fixing its position immediately in front of the bema by the statements of an eighth century patriarch of Constantinople and of Simeon of Salonika, with regard to the position of ambones. We quote their descriptive summary :—

'The raised floor of the ambo was rounded on two sides, the other being open to the steps at the east and west. The breast wall on each side was largely covered with applied silver wrought into patterns ; and the rest, together with the parapet slabs to the steps, were inlaid in ivory, probably carved like the contemporary bishop's throne at Ravenna. The body of the ambo, inlaid thus with ivory and silver, was upheld on eight columns, the underside of the floor stone being hollowed into a flat dome like the fluted soffite of the still older ambo at S. Apollinare at Ravenna. On

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\* See our remarks further on regarding the extent of the bema.

either side, around the ambo, was a semi-circle of large columns of rosy-veined Synnada marble, on white bases, with bronze annulets and gilt capitals ; between the columns breast-high slabs of Hierapolis marble inclosed a space. The circle of columns stood on a raised step, and above they were bound together by a carved beam, the pattern being gilt with the interspaces painted in ultramarine. On this to east and west stood silver crosses ; their upper limbs "bent like shepherds' crooks," doubtless formed the XP monogram. Silver candelabra, cones of diminishing circles, stood round about on the top of the beam. From the eastern steps a passage way ran back to the step of the iconostasis, inclosed on both sides by marble slabs grooved into posts, bearing a top rail. This closure of Verde-antique slabs was inlaid in white and red patterns and gold mosaic.'

This magnificent ambo, together with the beautiful iconostasis and the other rich fittings of the interior, appears to have been pillaged and destroyed or removed by the bands of western pirates who, under the name of Crusaders fighting for the Cross, pillaged and desecrated this most magnificent temple of Christendom. The treatment of the building by the Turkish conqueror, 250 years later, shows up in marked contrast to that of this band of marauders from the West.

A translation is given of two descriptions of the ceremonies associated with the ambo at coronations. These, although of later date, are interesting as describing the nature of such functions in the age of the Palæologi.

We notice that, in the translations from the various Byzantine authors which are given in the text, a transcription of the actual names of the various artificers and of the different parts of the building and its details, is given in brackets in Roman lettering. The idea is most praiseworthy, but we think it would have been an additional advantage to have had the actual names in their Greek characters.

In Chapter V. the arrangements of the interior of the church are discussed at considerable length. We are told that Du Cange, in his Commentary (1670) to the Silentriary's poem, was the first to make a serious attempt to elucidate the interior arrangements.

We are not at all disposed to accept as conclusively proved, as our authors seem to do, the suggestion made by several more recent writers that the extent of the bema was confined to the

eastern apse. We are rather inclined to favour the view of Du Cange that it embraced the whole eastern hemicycle, and that the screen followed the line of the great eastern arch. The position of the ambo under this arrangement would still have been in front of the screen, but further forward than shown on the plan, coming out under the great dome nearly to the centre. The Silentiary's description of its position would quite justify this theory. He says it stood 'in the central space of the wide temple, yet tending rather towards the East,' and the following description of the south aisle would also seem to confirm us in this theory : 'On the south you will see a long aisle as on the north, yet made bigger. For a part is separated off from the nave by a wall ; there the Emperor takes his accustomed seat on the solemn festivals, and listens to the reading of the sacred books.' This may either mean that the Emperor's seat was in the nave or in the aisle, but in any case it places it opposite to the position which we have assigned to the ambo, whereas the ambo, as shown on the plan, is flanked by two of the great piers. He also classes together the apse and the exedras. 'Towards the east unfold triple spaces of semi-circular form ; and above, on an upright band of wall, soars aloft the fourth part of a sphere ;' and he proceeds as follows : 'The middle apse holds the stalls and steps ranged circle-wise,' but no allusion is made to the position of the ciborium having been close to them. He says of the apse that it 'is separated by a space between vertical walls :' We presume we are right in assuming that the words 'from the nave,' inserted in brackets after separated, have been put there by our translator. (We are unable at the moment of writing to refer to the original text).

Now, the position of the ciborium in the larger examples of the Basilican type of church, from which the plan of S. Sophia was a development, stood out well clear of the apse, which, as here, contained the seats for the priests, and the ambones were situated right down almost in the middle of the length of the nave, one on each side, as, for example, in S. Clemente and S. Lorenzo at Rome. Another point to be borne in mind is the total number of clergy attached to the church—in Justinian's time there were over 500—and the large amount of space that

would have been required for their accommodation. Of course a large proportion of these had no standing inside the bema, but even the priests alone would have uncomfortably crowded up the small apse, and, on the occasions of great ceremonials, additional clergy would have been gathered together from all parts. Our authors themselves instance that 'on one occasion the number of priests was so great that the Church of S. Sophia, though it is the greatest of all on the earth, seemed then too small.' The Russian Archbishop's account, written in 1200, says:—'In the sanctuary are eighty candelabra of silver for use on feast days . . . besides numberless silver candelabra with many golden apples.' These could hardly have been contained in the small apse ; but perhaps *sanctuary* is intended to mean treasury.

We ought to bear in mind that in Justinian's time the iconostasis, as it was afterwards called, was not a rigidly closed screen but a range of pillars with spaces between, the lower parts of which were filled in with slabs, and the remainder of which was open ; curtains were hung in these spaces in smaller churches, but here, where a large ciborium overshadowed and enclosed the altar, which stood clearly detached inside it, the curtain to conceal the sacred rites from the laity were hung round it. The Silentiary specially describes in great detail the curtains round the ciborium, but makes no mention of any on the screen. Hence any argument that might be brought forward about the Holy Table being overlooked from the galleries is of no moment.

Our authors themselves admit the narrowness of the space available for the screen when placed in their position in front of the small apse, and they very ingeniously get over it by assuming that the Silentiary's definition of the pillars as 'six sets of twain' entitles them to suggest that the pillars were coupled behind one another. We admit the reasonableness of this suggestion, but do not ourselves think that the wording is anything more than a mere piece of poetic licence. The twelve pillars, if spaced out regularly in one line across the wider space, would leave openings measuring less than eight feet between the pillars, not an extravagant width for each bay. The mass of decorative work on the screen would also have been better disposed on the greater width. We therefore contend that until further evidence is

forthcoming—for instance, an examination of the pavement might reveal much—there is no reason to assume that the extent of the bema was confined to the single apse.

The uppermost row of stalls round the apse was plated with silver, as were also the columns and arches of the ciborium; and the Holy Table was plated with gold and decked with enamel. Our authors are probably right in conjecturing that much of the rich decorative work of the sanctuary was taken to Venice after the sack of 1203, and that some of the enamels, which form part of the Pala d'oro in the Church of S. Mark, came from here. The columns of the screen were also cased with silver, and it was enriched with figures of winged angels in pairs and representations of the Apostles. These must have been placed above the columns, either on the beam or in a deep frieze—it is usual to find pictorial representations of the Apostles on the upper parts of later screens—and probably the angels supported the candelabra which adorned the top. The description of this screen recalls to mind the disposition of the one at S. Mark's in Venice and of that in the great Church at Torcello.

The Silentuary makes no special allusion to the Prothesis and Diakonikon as such, and, as there is considerable doubt whether these chapels became essential parts of the arrangement of a Byzantine Church till after Justinian's time, there may not have been special places set apart for them in this church. The openings through the walls at either side of the apse may have been used for the passage of the clergy from the vestries behind.

We doubt much if the chambers attached to the outside of the east wall were more than mere retiring rooms for the priests, and places for storing the vestments, etc.

The Treasury of the Relics might probably have been a pillared shrine or enclosure situated in the centre of the chamber at the east end of the north aisle, in which case the relics would have been protected by metal doors fitting in between its pillars. Here also would presumably have been kept the Sacred Cross. A writer of the 7th century is quoted as saying: ‘In the northern part of the interior of the house (S. Sophia) is shown a very large and beautiful aumbry, where is kept a wooden chest in

which is shut up that wooden Cross of Salvation on which our Saviour hung for the salvation of the world.' The corresponding chamber on the south side may have been the Metatorion, in, or adjoining which, was the Holy Well. 'The princes go out of the right side of the Bema and enter the Metatorion.'

The square of rich Alexandrine work still existing in the pavement in the south-east quarter of the great square was probably the spot on which the Emperor's throne stood. The Russian Archbishop's description in 1200 says: 'On the right near the sanctuary is a piece of red marble, on which they place a golden throne; on this throne the Emperor is crowned. This place is surrounded by bronze closures to prevent people walking on it.'

Attention is drawn to the series of small crosses cut in the great verde antico columns of the nave. It was very usual for the Byzantine builders to make their principal stones, especially when they had been transferred from Pagan buildings, with crosses of consecration. On one small church in Athens, built out of materials from old temples, almost every stone is marked with a cross.

Our authors suggest that the two great water vessels, which stand in the exedras at the west end of the Church, and which are generally supposed to have been put there by Sultan Murad III., are Byzantine, and they illustrate examples of others of a similar type, and of undoubted Byzantine origin. We think that they prove their contention.

Reference is made to the lavish use of hangings by the Byzantines for their doors and openings, and the nature of these is discussed, examples being quoted from illustrations on mosaics. It is pointed out that the doors entering the narthex and those between it and the church have all got bronze hooks for suspending these from, and attention is drawn to the fact that Turkish hangings are in use on them at the present day. It is suggested that veils were frequently hung on both the upper and lower arcades of the church, having been suspended from the iron bars which cross the arches at their springing, in the manner indicated in the mosaic on Theodoric's palace. It is very probable that this was the case, at any rate in the upper tier. In fact an

instance is quoted from the account of a traveller in the 14th century, who says that 'the women in the galleries remained behind curtains of silk so that none might see their faces.'

Chapter VI. is devoted to a description and discussion of the relics, treasure and lighting of the church. The most precious relic of the church was the portion of the true Cross sent from Jerusalem by Helena. It is supposed to have consisted of three pieces arranged as a long stem with a double traverse, and this is suggested as having been the origin of the form of the cross so often found represented in Byzantine iconography.

The exhaustive description of the relics given by the Archbishop of Novgorod, who visited the church three years before its sack by the Franks, is quoted at length and shows the quantity and richness of the treasure which was dispersed in 1203. His allusion to the practice of hanging the crowns of the Emperors round the altar is most interesting. 'Above the great altar in the middle is hung the crown of the Emperor Constantine, set with precious stones and pearls. Below it is a golden cross, which overhangs a golden dove. The crowns of the other Emperors are hung round the ciborium, which is entirely made of silver and gold. From the same ciborium hang thirty smaller crowns, as a remembrance to Christians of the pieces of money of Judas.' He goes on to say:—'Behind the altar of the larger sanctuary is a gold cross, higher than two men, set with precious stones and pearls. There hangs before it another gold cross a cubit and a half long, with three gold lamps, which hang from as many gold arms (the fourth is now lost). These lamps, the arms or branches, and the cross, were made by the Emperor Justinian who built S. Sophia.'

The arrangement of the lighting of the church is discussed in considerable detail. The Silentiary gives a beautiful account of the various methods employed, and his description is, as our authors say, one of the most fascinating parts of the whole poem. A great circle was suspended with chains in the central space under the dome, from this hung flat circular discs of silver pierced with holes into which were inserted small glass lamps, these discs alternated with metal crosses also holding lamps, inside their outer rim was a large corona of other lamps and

above it a large central disc. We find similar coronas to-day in some of the churches at Mount Athos, and many of us are familiar with the examples in the Rhenish churches, which were no doubt based on Byzantine models. Along the sides of the church and in the aisles and galleries were rows of lamps in the form of silver bowls, ships, etc.

On the top of the iconostasis was a row of candelabra having circles of light diminishing upwards round the stem, and in the centre was a huge cross studded with lights. Similar candelabra encircled the ambo. In the sanctuary were suspended single lamps which burned continually. Illustrations are given of various types of pierced lamp discs of the Byzantine era, and of types of standard candle-sticks. We find these latter in general use in the East to-day, almost identical in form with those made in the sixth century, and the grouping of small lamps in lines or circles or hung singly is still the usual method of lighting employed in the churches at the present time.

Chapter VII. goes into the later History and Legends. Allusion is made to the addition of a belfry at the west end about the year 865. This was built to hold the bells sent by the Doge of Venice to the Emperor Michael. The Greeks did not use bells but wood or metal plates hung on chains or cords and struck like a gong. Reference is made also to repairs undertaken at various times and especially at the end of the tenth century, when an earthquake caused the 'hemisphere with the western arch to fall.'

Under the later Byzantine Emperors the church never recovered its former splendour. They, however, kept it in repair and gradually got together a fresh collection of treasures, and they restored the ciborium, the iconostasis and the ambo, but not in such magnificent form as before. In 1346 another earthquake threw down about one third of the roof. This was speedily rebuilt.

After the Turkish conquest the church was again divested of much of its treasure, but otherwise did not suffer great harm. The outside appearance was however much changed by the addition of minarets and by the alteration of its surroundings.

Our authors translate and examine the description of the

church by the writer known as ‘The Anonymous of Combebis.’ This they assign to the twelfth century. Of it they say: ‘We believe him to be entirely unreliable where he speaks of the former state of the church. He simply gathers the legends which had grown up, because facts were forgotten, and enumerates the relics.’ They also gather together the remarks set down by various travellers, and the numerous legends which had clustered round the church and were quoted from time to time.

Chapter VIII. refers to the repairs executed in 1847, but it is mainly occupied by a paraphrase of the description of the church given in Salzenburg’s great work. We question whether it was worth while after all to reproduce this here as it is very difficult to follow, even by those acquainted with the technicalities, and it is hopeless to make anything out of it without having the illustrations of the work at hand to refer to. Salzenburg’s book stands by itself, plates and text, and we can only think that our authors have included the translation of his text in their work so as to complete their series of English renderings of the various authors who have written about the building.

In Chapter IX. the ancient precincts and external parts of the church are discussed. Reference is made to the Great Palace, the Hippodrome, the Augusteum, the Milion, etc., and their arrangement and form in Justinian’s time is touched upon. It might have been better had this discussion followed on in Chapter I., after that of the earlier topography, but our authors have doubtless put it here as leading up to their description of the approaches and outlying parts of the church.

Immediately to the west of the church was the atrium or cloister. This was oblong and considerable portions of it were in existence as late as 1873. Now only the west side remains—the present exonarthex. It had been suggested by Fossati and others that the four great buttress piers rising above this side and from which arches stretched across the farther wall, had carried the four bronze horses now in front of the church of S. Mark at Venice. Our authors scout this idea and point out that the horses are much too small for the position; besides, they bring forward evidence to show that at one time there were ten buttresses along this wall. It is also pointed out that some parts of

the exterior must have been lined with marble, and it is mentioned that some of the marble plating was seen by Salzenburg.

It is suggested that the Court of the Atrium was paved with marble, and in the centre stood the fountain; four streams were figured in marble as flowing away from the centre, one towards each side—symbolical of the four rivers of paradise—and these gave their names to the four walks of the cloister. The probable nature and form of the fountain is discussed in some detail, but on this we need not enter. The main approach to the church was from the south side, where stood the Augusteum and the Palace. On this side also stood the great pillar erected by Justinian and bearing a statue of the Emperor on horseback. The arrangement and position of the courts and buildings immediately to the south of the church and adjoining it, are so problematical that we need hardly discuss them here.

The remaining three chapters of the book are given up to the technical side of the subject, the discussion of the structural methods, their origins, development and application in the building, the nature and use of the material and the form and arrangement of the decorative detail.

Our authors have a good deal to say on the question of the growth of the Byzantine architecture. We quote the following:—

‘Byzantine architecture was developed by the use of brick in the frankest and fullest manner, especially in domical vaulting. Wide spans were kept in equipoise by other smaller domes. The more concentrated supports were marble monoliths, and the wall and vault surfaces were covered by incrustations of marble slabs and glass mosaic. Directness, and an economy of labour relative to the results obtained, is perhaps the most essential characteristic of the art both in construction and decoration in the great period.’

The building up of the dome from the square plan through pendentives was one of the finest of the Byzantine developments, and they follow this up through early examples to its complete perfection as seen in S. Sophia. They dwell on Choisy’s enquiry into the methods of workmanship and how he points out the difference between the Roman and the Byzantine systems; that under the Romans the workman was compulsorily enrolled in associations under State control, while with the Byzantine Greeks

he had more individuality, and was recognised more as an intelligent power, and had his own independent trade guilds. ‘These associations had a council composed exclusively of those who, by apprenticeship and trial, had earned the title of masters.’

The original form of the church and the details of the alterations made, under Justinian, after the earthquake, are gone into, and our authors bring forward a new theory regarding certain alterations to the filling in of the great north and south arches. They point out that these great arches of 72 feet span are as wide as the great piers, viz., 15 feet 8 inches, but that ‘the semi-circles of wall, each of which contains twelve windows, are now filled in beneath these arches, flush with their *inner faces*, and the arches therefore do not show to the interior through the decoration’; and they go on to say:—

‘Now Agathias says that at the restoration, after the earthquake in 558, at the north and south arches they brought towards the inside “the portion of the building which was on the curve.” This, we think, must refer to the filling wall in the arches of 72 feet span, which we suppose was formerly on the exterior, and thus left an upper gallery 12 feet wide and 72 feet long open to the interior. “And they made the arches wider to be in harmony with the others, thus making the equilateral symmetry more perfect. They thus reduced the vast space and formed an oblique design.” That is, the arches of 72 feet, when filled up on the inside, were no longer visible, and the dome appeared to stand over arches of 100 feet span on north and south, as already on east and west, the transverse dimension of the church being lessened between these points by some 24 feet.’

They give plans and sections to prove their case, and argue it out with great clearness, pointing out, for instance, that throughout the building, in every other place but this one, the curtain walls are flush with the exterior. They bring forward S. Sophia, Salonika, as an example in their favour, for there the soffits of the arches show in the interior. Choisy, who thought that this building was erected after the Constantinople church, says that here the error was remedied; but our authors quote a recent reading of the inscription on the mosaic there, which shows that the church was erected in 495. We think that the evidence brought forward and the arguments adduced show clearly that this alteration was made as our authors suggest, and that it was

not an improvement on the original design. Their theory as to the reason for the change is also a very probable one, viz., that some weakness in the supports of the inner order in the aisles made it essential that, as far as possible, the weight should be transferred forward to the main pillars and arches.

The general structural system is carefully examined, how the dome and semi-domes are sustained, and how the thrusts are resisted or distributed. The forms of the arches are noted and considered, and the methods of the vaulting are discussed and compared with Choisy's explanations. They differ from him on essential points in connection with the setting out of the vaults, and we think that they are right in their contentions, but the points are so very technical that we cannot go into them here. They, however, agree with Choisy in his statement that the chief consideration of the Byzantine builders in the construction of their vaults was to avoid wooden centering, but here again they suggest a simpler method of arriving at the line of the construction than that put forward by him.

The methods of dome construction are also entered into, and a description is given of the system in use in the East, whereby domes are built without any centering, like the vaults. The question of how far any centering was used for the great dome is also touched on, and it is suggested that it was dispensed with to a great extent, but that for closing in the opening at the top a light centering, resting on the part already built, was used.

With the exception of the marble monoliths with their capitals and bases, the structure of S. Sophia was a huge brick carcase or shell into which were inserted, after the building had had time to settle down, the marble jambs and lintels of the doors and windows, and to which were applied the thin marble linings of the walls and the mosaic work of the domes and vaults.

Our authors endeavour to identify each variety of marble used in the building and to fix its provenance. They are inclined to the opinion that the great monolith shafts of Egyptian porphyry and green Thessalian marble, used for the main pillars, were specially quarried for this work, and not brought from older buildings, as some writers have asserted. The quarries of Marmora, which are still worked, supplied the bulk

of the white marble for the capitals, bases, floors, etc., and for much of the wall lining, while the richer varieties formed panels and bands. They point out that :—

‘ All the wall-plating is arranged with delightful variety as to size, and in the alternate placing of light against dark, so that there is no rigidity or over-accurate “ setting out.” ’

Further on they say :—

‘ In regard to the wall-plating, we wish specially to point out the extremely easy way in which it is applied, without thought of disguise. The slabs, of great size, are placed vertically, entirely the reverse of solid construction ; moreover, the slabs of the finer panels are opened out side by side, so that the veinings appear in symmetrical patterns. At the angles the lap shows in the most open way ; while it is mitred where restored.’

A most interesting dissertation is given on the development of Byzantine marble masonry, and the evolution of the new form of capital :—

‘ Having the Corinthian and Ionic capitals before their eyes, and without forgetting or rejecting them, the Byzantine builders invented and developed an entirely fresh set of capitals, fitted in the most perfect way for arched brick construction.’

In the shaping of the capital the round of the column was gradually merged into the square of the impost of the arch, and the carving enriches the surface only, while preserving the form. These forms are divided by our authors into four main types, which they discuss in detail. They are of opinion that Constantinople was the great centre for the manufacture of sculptured marble masonry for the whole Roman world, and that from there carved capitals, slabs, etc., were exported far and wide. They think that all the fine work at Ravenna and other places was sent direct from the Capital ready to be fixed in position. They base their contention mainly on the fact that identical forms are to be found in places so widely apart. They believe that it can be proved that the marble used is mainly Proconnesian. Even if this were so it does not necessarily follow that more than the rough blocks were exported. We should like still to be allowed to think that, while Constantinople was the great centre from which trained craftsmen were sent abroad far and wide, the sculptures of the buildings themselves were to a large extent

executed on the spot by the craftsmen who worked on the construction of the buildings; that, as Choisy says in the passage quoted by our authors in another place:—‘In Byzantine buildings, the same name occurs in turn upon columns, capitals, or simply squared blocks of stone, and there is nothing to show that the foreman of the works kept one man at one particular kind of work.’

The large use made of bronze both in construction and decoration is remarked on,—the bronze bands round the pillars, the casings to the doorways, and the linings of the doors themselves. Drawings and descriptions are given of the decorative treatment of these bronze doors. The outer doors of the south porch are specially discussed, and a corrected version is given of the inscriptions on the panels, which had been incorrectly quoted by Salzenburg. The arrangement of this inscription in the form of monograms is very ingenious, and it is interesting to note that these were deeply engraved into the metal plates and filled in with silver.

The form and manner of the mosaic work is described, and the economical way in which the material was used is commented on, an observation of Boni’s being quoted to show how, in the domes, the maximum of effect was gained with the minimum of material. The decorative arrangement and the iconographic scheme is discussed; space, however, does not permit of our entering into this subject. It is concluded, we think with reason, that none of the figure work belongs to the period previous to the iconoclastic controversy. The *Silentiary* does not describe it, and he certainly would have done so had it existed. We quote the following:—

‘We believe the original scheme of decoration is best accounted for without figures, and even if this were not so, we can hardly believe that in the Patriarchal Church, at the door of the Palace, figures would have lasted through the reigns of the iconoclastic emperors and patriarchs, as they may well have done in remoter churches where the clergy were on the other side.’

A section is devoted to the elucidation of the ciphers or monograms which are carved on the bosses of the capitals. It is shown very clearly that the bulk of these represent, in pairs, the words ‘ΙΩΒΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΒ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC,’ and ‘ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑC, ΑΒΓΟΥΤΑC.’

The work concludes with a reference to a slab in the paving of the south gallery, which bears the name of the blind Doge of Venice, 'HENRICUS DANDOLO.'

Although we have gone carefully through the whole book in considerable detail, we have been unable to touch on great portions of the wealth of most interesting and valuable information which has been brought together in such a comprehensive form at the expense of so much labour and research. The collecting and transcribing into English of all that has been written regarding the great Church will alone make the work of extreme value as a book of reference for students; while the part devoted to the structural methods, and the theories brought forward regarding them, having been written by practical architects well qualified to deal with the intricacies of a great building, will always command the attention of those interested in the subject.

We could have wished, perhaps, that the translations of the ancient writers had been more complete—although the essential parts in each case have been given to us—and that each had been kept entirely separate and distinct, with a commentary on the whole following after with the description and discussion of the Church; but our authors have thought otherwise, and we must respect their judgment.

We must, however, draw attention to the want of a proper list of the works referred to in the text. This would have enhanced the usefulness of the book, and would also have done away with the necessity for many of the footnote references. Another omission is that of a list and index of the cuts in the text, of which not even references to the pages at which they are to be found scattered throughout the book are given when they are alluded to from time to time. A few more drawings of various parts of the building might also have helped to make many of the descriptions appear clearer. These, however, are points that could be amended in a second edition.

We cannot conclude without expressing our sense of the loss which architectural archaeology has sustained through the death, in Egypt, of Mr. Swainson, shortly after the publication of this book, while he was on a mission of further investigation on similar lines. A capable scholar as well as a trained architect, he

combined in himself the two principal qualifications necessary for an enlightened study of the monuments of the past, and the good work he had already done gave promise of much future work of extreme interest and excellence.

ROBT. WEIR SCHULTZ.

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ART. VIII.—THREE YEARS UNDER THE NEW ORDINANCES : A GRADUATION ADDRESS.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR,—It is now my pleasant duty in the name of the Faculty and the Senatus to congratulate those on whose studies and attainments the University has to-day formally set its seal by the honours of graduation. As representatives, for the time being, of the University we here to-day welcome you heartily on your admission as members of the great company of graduates who have carried its name and fame into all parts of the world. Henceforward you are members with them and with us of the same body; the reputation of your *Alma Mater* is placed in your hands, and we look to you confidently to justify by your future career the honour this day bestowed upon you. We expect you to maintain the reputation of the University unsmirched; and many of you, we doubt not, will in the years to come add fresh lustre to her name.

This being the first occasion on which it has fallen to me to deliver this address, I have, not unnaturally, made a slight examination of precedents with a view to discover what is expected of me in the circumstances.

The first great duty, I may say, which has been enforced upon me by all who expected to have to listen was to be *short*; and as I have much sympathy with this state of mind, I shall hope not to trespass unduly upon your patience. The appropriate subject of remark proved a more intricate problem. For the last twenty years, or thereby, the University system of Scotland has been under repairs. There has either been a

Commission reporting upon its needs and inadequacies, or there has been a Bill in prospect, or there has been a Bill just passed, or, latterly, there has been a Commission sitting which has been proposing and carrying into effect far-reaching changes in the constitution of the Universities and the arrangement of their educational curriculum. In these circumstances the officiating professor usually found a thesis ready to his hand in the questions of academic policy which were being agitated at that particular epoch. The address thus became a convenient, and often a useful, opportunity of criticising before a wider public proposed reforms or impending legislation. It also gave the Professor an opportunity of delivering his soul with more or less fulness on the claims and the grievances of his particular department, and the iniquities about to be perpetrated or already perpetrated in its regard. This last seductive line of remark I do not intend to follow; for though I do not wish to be understood as making the humiliating and un-English confession that I am without a grievance, there is really nothing of such importance or urgency as to justify its obtrusion upon you as the main subject of these remarks.

Turning therefore to more general topics, let us first glance for a moment at the academic history of the year that has elapsed since the Arts graduation in April last. It seems not inappropriate on these the only regular occasions on which the University voices itself officially to the outer world to offer a brief chronicle of any events of interest that have marked the passing year. What then are the academic memorabilia of the last twelve months? What have they brought us and what have they taken away? First, as is most fitting, let us pay our tribute to those who have left us since we last met. Last summer by a tragic accident we lost Professor Dobie, snatched from us in the vigour of early manhood, almost before he had had time to take permanent root among us, but not before he had won the respect and friendship of his colleagues and students by his manly and unaffected character, and given earnest of a most successful career by his combination of sound scholarship with organizing power and a sober and well-

directed enthusiasm. We mourned sincerely his premature and unlooked-for loss. It is not many weeks since, in other circumstances, we were called upon to pay the last tribute of honour and affection to John Stuart Blackie. A Professor in this University for thirty years, and then for thirteen years Emeritus, he had been seen at most of our academic gatherings up till the beginning of the present session, his picturesque presence imparting a touch of colour to what an uncomplimentary print is pleased to term ‘the monotonous grey respectability of the Scottish Professoriate.’ When he passed from us at the extreme verge of human life, his death was followed by a spontaneous outburst of public feeling which was a striking testimony to the place he had made for himself in the heart of his countrymen. His eulogy was spoken at the time by fitting lips. To what was then said and written in many quarters in warm yet discriminative appreciation of his gifts and nature it would be superfluous to add anything here. But it is a satisfaction to us to know that his bright and happy memory will remain part of the history of this University.

But the annals of the past year are, happily, not exhausted in these records of loss. We have added new and distinguished members to the teaching body, and we have added new subjects to the University curriculum. The vacant Chair of Hebrew has been filled by Professor Kennedy, who comes to us with a distinguished record from the same Chair in the University of Aberdeen; and we have called Professor Prothero from a brilliant career at Cambridge to the newly instituted Chair of History, that the experience gained by years of successful teaching in the South may be available in organising the department which is now for the first time fully recognised as part of the Arts teaching both for pass and honours. It may be of public interest to mention that a most successful and encouraging beginning has been made. There were during the past Session 28 students attending Professor Prothero’s ordinary class, while the Honours courses conducted by him and Professor Kirkpatrick were attended by 9 and 6 students respectively; at the recent graduation examination 13 candidates presented themselves in History. Lecturers of

distinction were also appointed last summer to inaugurate the University study of French and German, and in these subjects also the results of the first session have been such as to show that the classes supply an important want, and are certain to form an important adjunct to the previously existing teaching in arts. They have been most largely taken advantage of by women students, a result which was to be expected at first, women being more highly prepared in these subjects by their school training than the majority of the male students. But it may be hoped that, as time goes on, more and more of the men will supplement their culture by attending these classes, whether they take them for graduate purposes or not—a knowledge of these two languages being at the present day a necessary part of the equipment of the scholar, the man of science, the philosopher, and the theologian, not to mention the ‘world of profit and delight’ which their literatures open up to ‘the studious artizan.’ For the present the beginning made may be regarded as entirely satisfactory ; 27 students attended the French class, and 29 attended German, one of these being an Honours student, while 18 candidates appeared in German and 17 in French at the recent Degree Examinations.

The mention of these numbers may probably suggest to some the question whether the statistics of class attendance and graduation furnish as yet any indication of tendencies at work among students in shaping their courses under the new Regulations. The new Regulations have now been in force for three sessions ; but at first the majority of the students, having begun their course before October, 1892, did not come under their operation. It is only, I think, in the present session that a distinct majority of the Arts students have been working under the new conditions, but this is also the last occasion on which any considerable body of students will graduate under the old ordinances. You who have passed before the Vice-Chancellor to-day—though there are many new ordinance graduates among you—represent practically the end of the old order ; only a small and diminishing band of stragglers will remain. These considerations show that it

is still premature to expect any very definite results from the figures of these three transition years, and it would be an offence against scientific prudence to base any far-reaching inductions upon them. Still, taken for what they are worth, the figures naturally excite a certain interest. The first point on which one naturally looks for information is as to the effect of the options in the three old departments of Classics, Mathematics, and Philosophy—the options, I mean, between Latin and Greek, between Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and between Logic and Moral Philosophy. The only point here which the figures place beyond doubt is one which was foreseen by everybody—the immediate fall in the numbers of those taking Greek. In April, 1892, the last graduation completely under the old system, there were 137 candidates in Classical Literature, *i.e.*, in Latin and Greek taken together. (The total number of students and graduates, I should remark parenthetically, has been undergoing a shrinkage, and this has to be kept in mind in connection with the following figures). In April, 1893, there were in Latin 125, and in Greek 111, the majority being still under the old ordinances; in April, 1894, there was in Latin 112, and in Greek 80; and this April there were 94 in Latin, and only 57 in Greek. That is to say, while the decrease in the numbers in Latin represents only the shrinkage that has taken place of late years in the total number of students and graduates, the actual fall being 43, Greek has fallen 80 in the same period; those who graduate in Greek are now only about  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of those who graduate in Latin. A comparison of the class numbers shows a similar result. Formerly the Greek and Latin classes were identical with the exception of one or two stragglers. This session, Greek stood to Latin as 71 to 127, somewhat under  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths. It may probably be assumed that the inevitable causes leading to this downfall in Greek have now had time to come fully into operation, so that a further diminution of numbers is not to be expected. It is certainly to be deprecated in the interests of the higher learning in Scotland. When we turn to the case of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, we find that while Mathematics has sunk from 110 in

1892 to 100 in 1895, Natural Philosophy has risen from 110 to 125 in the same years, *i.e.*, Mathematics is 25 behind, or to put it differently, the numbers in Mathematics are exactly  $\frac{4}{5}$ ths of the numbers in Natural Philosophy on the present occasion. The inequality is here by no means so great, and while Natural Philosophy, as was anticipated, has the advantage, some students evidently availing themselves of the option to escape from Mathematics, this is by no means so largely the case as prophecy would at one time have had us believe. Comparison between the classes is not instructive in this case, at least to an outsider, as Natural Philosophy always largely outnumbered the senior class of Mathematics. In the case of the third option, that between Logic and Moral Philosophy, the graduation figures for the successive years would convey a distinctly misleading impression, owing to the unequal incidence of new graduation candidates in the two cases, in consequence of the relative position of the classes in the ordinary curriculum. This tended unduly to swell the numbers in Logic in 1893 and 1894, and it will not really be till next year that the normal relation between the two, as it is determined by the tendencies at present in operation, will be fairly inferrible from the figures. But the figures, such as they are, show that whereas in 1892 there were 112 candidates in the old philosophical department, 125 candidates presented themselves this April in Logic as against 84 in Moral Philosophy, and if the three years, 1893, 1894, and 1895, be taken, there are, on the average, 39 fewer candidates in Moral Philosophy than in Logic. If the test of class attendance be taken, it has to be remembered that under the old conditions, from a variety of causes, the Logic class was almost always slightly more numerous than the class of Moral Philosophy. In the three years preceding April, 1892, the average difference was 14. In the three years, however, since April, 1892, the average difference has risen to 41. The justice of this average is probably disturbed, however, by the fact that 1892-93 would in any circumstances have given a small class in Moral Philosophy, owing to the small entry of first year students some time before. But in any case we are driven to the conclusion

that a certain number of students are taking advantage of the option to drop one of their philosophical classes ; and for the present the loss appears to fall chiefly upon Moral Philosophy. Other things being equal, this is the natural result of the position of Moral Philosophy, as coming later in the ordinary curriculum and presupposing to some extent the foundation laid in a class of Logic and Psychology. The number of those who have withdrawn themselves from the advantage of a second philosophical class is, however, not alarming as yet, and probably consists almost entirely of those who feel themselves incapable of benefitting by the discipline which philosophy offers. And in this respect it can only be healthy for both parties that such students should seek 'fresh woods and pastures new.'

There is a fourth option established by the new regulations. Instead of English, hitherto a compulsory subject, the student may take either History or a Modern Language. But the operation of this option does not admit of being tested by figures, for History, as a qualifying class, and French and German are all new subjects ; and it is impossible to say whether the 84 students which they collectively muster this session have taken the new subject in lieu of English or in lieu of some other class in the old curriculum. The probability is that only in a very few cases has the English class been omitted. The graduation candidates this year in English numbered 125, the same number as in Natural Philosophy and Logic, and considerably in advance of all the other subjects, while if we compare the class attendance in English during the three years preceding and the three years following April, 1892, the average number during the earlier period was 172, the average number during the latter period 183. English Literature would appear therefore to be fully holding its own, as indeed one would naturally expect. It is also of interest to note that this year, for the first time, a student has graduated with Honours in English, the first fruits of the new Honours school.

When we turn to the subjects which have been given a place for the first time in Arts curriculum, we find that in

addition to History, French, and German already alluded to, Education, Political Economy, and Chemistry are the only subjects which show any tendency, so far, to take an important place as graduating subjects. In French and German we have only the results of the present year to judge by. The number of candidates, as we saw, was—in German, 18; in French, 17. History, which has been taught as an Arts subject by Professor Kirkpatrick since 1892, had 2 graduates in '93, 13 in '94, and 13 in the present session. But these figures are exceeded in the case of Education and Chemistry. Education at once leapt into an important position as a graduating subject. In 1893, the first occasion possible, there were 22 candidates in Education, in '94 there were 36, and this year 21, making an average of 26; while the class attendance, which averaged 40 in the three years preceding April, '92, has averaged 55 in the last three years. As the class is taken by the best of those who are training professionally as teachers, it was to be expected that they would utilise it at the same time for purposes of graduation. Chemistry, beginning with 3 candidates in '93, advanced to 13 in '94, and to 20 in the present year. Chemistry is thus distinctly the favourite among the scientific subjects, and the others account as yet only for a few stragglers. Zoology has had 6 candidates during the three years, Botany 5, Geology 4, and Astronomy 1. But one of the most interesting features of the figures is the steady way in which Political Economy continues to increase its numbers. Beginning with 2 candidates in '93, it had 9 candidates in '94, and this year the number has risen to 22; and during the same period the class has risen, from 24 in session '92-3, to 30 in session 93-4, and 42 in the session just closed.

Of the other subjects recognised under the new regulations only three have given any signs of life. Fine Art and Archaeology has had 8 candidates in the three years, Sanskrit has had 2, Roman Law 2. Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Celtic, Philosophy of Law and Public Law have been as yet quite unrepresented at these examinations,

Summing up the matter in another way, if we take the

number of entries for single subjects this April, we find that of the total 838, not fewer than 710, or an average of rather more than a hundred a-piece, belonged to the old seven subjects; while of the remaining 128, distributed among the new subjects, 111 were divided among the six subjects of Education, Political Economy, Chemistry, German, French, and History (the numbers being Education, 23; Political Economy, 22; Chemistry, 20; German, 18; French, 17; and History, 12); while the remaining 17 entries are scattered over as many as 5 competing subjects.

I have taken the trouble to compile these statistics in the belief that they may interest some here, and possibly some also among the wider public. But as I warned you at the outset, the years in question have been largely of a transitional character, and the basis of induction is therefore small. Statistics, they say, can be made to prove anything. Accordingly I leave everybody to draw his own conclusions from them. I will only say that, so far as it has gone, the academic struggle for existence does not seem to me to have exceeded the limits of healthful competition; the limited power of selection entrusted to the students has been in no way abused. Even in the case of Greek, I do not think that while we have 70, or anything like 70, students freely selecting the subject, there is any reason to despair of the republic of letters. And as a representative of philosophy I think I may add that the philosophical professors, in spite of the slight declension to which I have alluded, see no reason as yet to believe that any irreparable injury has been done to their subject. The average quality of the work done by the class as a whole is undoubtedly higher under the new arrangements than under the old; and the elimination of a certain number of unwilling and therefore uninterested students is a clear gain in many ways. Considering how intimately the reputation of the Scottish universities in the past has been associated with the character and influence of their philosophical teaching, it would indeed be matter for profound regret if this typical growth of national culture were to flourish less vigorously in the future. But we believe in

the inborn metaphysical tendency of the Scottish mind; and having regard also to the vital and perennial importance of the inquiries grouped under the general name of philosophy—inquiries which were never more in the foreground of public interest than at present—we look without discouragement to the academic future of the subjects committed to our charge.

In the matter of Honour Students, however, philosophy has perhaps more reason to regard the recent legislation with misgiving. And here I crave your permission to ventilate for a moment or two the grievance at whose existence I hinted before. That legislation, we were told, was intended to encourage and develop honours teaching by the greater freedom it conferred upon those who chose an Honours course. The honours man is subject to fewer restrictions in the choice of subjects, and is thus able from the outset of his course to specialise to a greater extent in his chosen department. In general, therefore, the better students have certainly an inducement to study for honours. But unfortunately this encouragement does not act in the case of philosophy, because a student cannot very well resolve to specialise in a subject which he knows nothing about. And as the philosophical subjects are not, and ought not to be, taught in schools—ought not indeed to be taken by the student till he has advanced some distance in his university course—the natural result is that, if the student shapes an honours course for himself soon after entering college, he selects one of the subjects with which his school training has given him some familiarity, and in which perhaps he has achieved some distinction. He commits himself thus, let us say, to a classical or mathematical course, according to his predilections; or perhaps, if neither of these subjects has attracted him, he may venture, with a vaguer knowledge of what they imply, upon an honours course in English, in History, or in Modern Languages. But philosophy is to him what the interior of the African continent used to be to the map-maker, and it may be taken for granted that in planning his university journey he will not think of venturing upon its trackless wilds. In recruiting for honours students, philosophy is thus plainly placed at a disadvantage

as compared with other departments. This was not the case under the old arrangements, because honours study formerly carried with it no exemptions or privileges. It was superimposed, as it were, upon the common foundation of the pass curriculum, and men did not usually decide to go in for honours till the second or third year of their course, by which time they had in all probability had some opportunity of tasting the sweets of philosophical discipline, or at least their minds had sufficiently ripened to enable them to appreciate the subjects with which it deals. The disadvantage in the new system arises from the choice prematurely thrust upon the student; he is not of course compelled to choose, and if he has no decided preferences, he may elect to follow one of the many paths to the ordinary degree, but the temptation certainly is for the student of more than average ability to commit himself at an early stage to some one of the avenues to an honours degree. Now, in the case of decided natural gift and inclination there is nothing to be said against the early choice. The heaven-born classic and the heaven-born mathematician would in any case have found their elective affinities; and it is well that obstacles should be removed from their path, and that in this way the standard of scholarship in these subjects should be raised in our universities as high as possible. But we all know that nature does not make many men and women in that mould, and in many cases the selection will be made not because of any such overpowering and unanswerable reasons, but because, in view of the advantages offered to honours students, it seems desirable that *some* selection should be made. It may often happen in such cases that the student commits himself to a definite curriculum before he has discovered his true affinities, more particularly while he is still ignorant of the philosophical potentialities which may slumber unsuspected in his breast. From this point of view it seems to me there is unquestionably a danger which may diminish the supply of students devoting themselves to more advanced work in Philosophy. The philosophical Professors will watch with some anxiety, therefore, the operation of the new regulations, in this respect, for the

next few years. And to advert only for a moment to a minor point, they will have to observe narrowly whether the Honours degree is not unduly hampered by the requirement of Greek from all candidates. A knowledge of Greek may well seem almost essential, when one reflects upon the place occupied by Plato and Aristotle in the history of thought. But should the number of those studying Greek at the Universities come to be only a small proportion of the total number proceeding to the Arts degree, it is evident that the area of selection for philosophical honours is proportionately restricted; and it may conceivably become a question whether an equitable alternative might not be found for those approaching Philosophy with other aptitudes and another training,—say an alternative of a scientific nature, such as an adequate knowledge of Physiology, which would be as useful in certain departments of philosophical enquiry as a knowledge of Greek in others. This, however, is a point which further experience must determine. But, it is not, I may say, a merely abstract or theoretical possibility: students contemplating Honours, to whom the present regulations operated as a bar, have already spoken to me on the subject.

And now let me turn to my more immediate audience, the graduates of the year. To us, upon the platform, and to the public, reading of it in the newspapers, this is a recurring function apt, perhaps, to be staled by repetition, as the annual revolution of the educational machine brings it round with unfailing regularity. But to you and to your friends gathered around you, it is an occasion which comes once and not again, an occasion to which you have looked forward, and to which, in after life, you will look back. I do not forget a day like this, seventeen years ago, on which I passed before Chancellor Inglis to receive my degree, and afterwards listened, sitting in your place, to the address of Professor Campbell Fraser, whose friend and successor it has since been my good fortune to become. So each of us has his individual memories. You stand to-day, if not all at the close of your University career, yet at the close of that training in general culture which the University has to offer as a preparation for life. Henceforth

you will either be engaged in the active business of the world, or you will turn to the more technical studies which the profession you have chosen demands. In either case, you are leaving the quiet waters in which you have spent these years of preparation, and are pushing into more troubled currents. The day on which a man enters college, and the day on which he leaves it, mark alike an important stadium in his life journey. Perhaps no other period of time is so big with the future as that contained between these two landmarks. Great opportunities have been yours during the past three or four years, and much in your future lives will depend upon whether you have used them wisely. I am not thinking now only, or perhaps even primarily, of the classes you have attended; though surely it is no small privilege to be introduced by approved guides to the chief departments of human knowledge. I am thinking of the more subtle and often more effectual way in which you educate one another. ‘As iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.’ And what friends are there like college friends—those who have shared with us that rich seed-time of ideas, that unfolding of the mind to new interests and aspirations, to worlds unrealized before? Meeting one another in our Societies, we discuss, greatly daring, the most burning questions of the hour: one essayist chooses as his theme some pioneer of modern ideas; another leads us into the delicious by-paths of literature. And in the familiar give-and-take of closer friendship, what sharing of new discoveries, what soundings of unplumbed depths, in the lingering talk by the evening fire, in long country walks together, in the hundred opportunities of daily intercourse! Wonderful time, in which authors, who had been before but the shadow of a name, if indeed so much, became of a sudden friends and daily companions. Their magical lines sing themselves in our heads; their periods, haunting the chambers of memory, become part of our deeper selves, shaping us, half without our knowledge, to meet the issues of life.

‘O fortunati nimium sua si bona norint.’

Who would not be young again to go through it all afresh?

But alas! only in the dreamland of memory can we who are old or middle-aged 'beget that golden time again.'

It was a favourite saying of Carlyle's that the true University of our days is a collection of books. But a library itself would not do all that a man's college years should do. The experienced guidance of the Professor is needed in the more serious studies of the place, and there is needed also that clash of youthful minds, that atmosphere of mutual incitement, which I have endeavoured to suggest. Only thus can the library do its part; only when these three influences combine, is the true University realised. The result of the combination is what constitutes that intangible but most real essence, a University education.

I will not flatter you by affecting to suppose that you are emerging from your undergraduate course as finished scholars, full-fledged men of science or profound philosophers. But because you are not specialists, and most of you unlikely to become specialists in any of the departments in which you have studied, it does not follow that you have therefore missed what you came here to seek. Specialists in any department are few, and the University does not exist solely, or even chiefly, for the training of specialists. You have been admitted at most to the outer courts of the temple of knowledge, but I trust that the glimpses you have obtained of the treasures within may prove sufficient to exercise a lasting influence upon your future lives. I trust that your studies in ancient and modern literature have furnished you with a standard of taste which will enable you to detect false sentiment, poor workmanship, and vulgarising suggestion, however loudly praised the work in which they occur. I trust that your initiation into philosophy may have been sufficient to enable you to rate at their true value the superficial crudities which are daily vended in the market-place as the latest birth of time, and may be of some guidance to you when you come to reflect upon these matters more ripely in the light of a fuller experience. And I hope that you carry away with you from your training in science that interest in the laws and processes of nature which is an unfailing source of intellectual

freshness. I hope in fine, that your University career has furnished you with permanent interests of a worthy kind which will have power to lift you above the banality and triviality into which it is so fatally easy to lapse. It matters not greatly what the particular interest may be; for as to hundred-gated Thebes of old, so there are many gateways to the kingdom of ideas, and if only you win and keep your citizenship there, it is of small account by which portal you enter. But some such serious interests you must have if you are to live in any true sense a *human* life, if life is not to be bounded, I mean, by material needs and satisfactions. In such interests you will have an abiding refuge from petty worries and from what may be at times the grinding monotony of the daily task. They will even do much to keep you unspotted from the world; they will set you clear of many of the grosser temptations to which the vacant mind falls an easy prey.

Your University career should also have bred in you a temper of intellectual freedom and intellectual sincerity. It should have taught you that reverence for truth which will lift you above partisan heat and prejudice, whether it be prejudice in favour of the old or prejudice which may be quite as ill-founded in favour of the new. 'Things are what they are,' says Bishop Butler in his unadorned but forcible English, 'things are what they are and the consequences of them will be what they will be: why, then, should we desire to be deceived?' Yet men do deceive themselves every day, pretending that many things are certain which are not certain, refusing to face uncomfortable facts, working themselves into a passion when they are met by contradiction, and venting upon the character of their opponents the sense of uneasiness which they cannot wholly suppress. Be it yours to avoid such offences against truth and charity. If your training has taught you anything, it should have taught you to appreciate the difficulty of the problem and to respect every honest attempt at a solution. It should have accustomed you to discuss the gravest questions calmly, seeking no personal or party triumph, no confirmation of foregone conclusions, but desirous only to know the facts as they

are and to follow truth whithersoever it may lead. Truth, says Berkeley, is the cry of all but the game of a few. You, I hope, will be of these few; and, if so, you will take to heart his concluding words, which sum up also much of what I have been endeavouring to say: 'Where it is the chief passion,' he adds, 'it doth not give way to vulgar cares or views; nor is it contented with a little ardour in the early time of life. He that would make a real progress in knowledge must dedicate his age as well as youth, the later growth as well as the first fruits, at the altar of truth.' And when the talk is of truth and disinterested devotion to truth do not be misled by the juggle of a word into supposing that it may ever be necessary to sacrifice at that altar the spiritual inheritances of our race. That truth, you may be sure, is no truth, which has not room within its confines for the Beautiful and the Good, and all that these imply.

ANDREW SETH.

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## SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

## GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (May, June).—The most notable contribution to the first of these two numbers is the article which Professor Hermann Grimm devotes to the peasant-poet, Johanna Ambrosius. She lives in Gross-Wersmeninken, one of the most remote villages of East-Prussia. Hard work and ill-health have shattered a constitution which was never robust; and it is in poetry that this poor and suffering, but gifted woman finds comfort. She would probably never have become known but for Professor Weiss-Schrattenthal, who published a collection of her poems last Christmas. The success of the little volume was such that, at the beginning of March, it had run into a fourth edition. The article gives a more recent poem of hers, written in January 1895. The depth of feeling and the vigour of diction which characterize Johanna Ambrosius's poetry, may be judged from this one production, which those of our readers who understand German cannot fail to read with pleasure and admiration.

## MEIN LETZTES LIED.

Ein Lied möcht' ich ersinnen,  
 Ein wundersames Lied,  
 Das gleich dem duft'gen Maienwind  
 Die ganze Welt durchzieht.  
 Von Nord nach Süd, von West nach Ost  
 Bräch' es sich Bahn im Nu,  
 Und gäb' der ganzen Menschheit Trost,  
 Glück, Frieden, Heil und Ruh'.

Den sterbenden, den Kranken  
 Soll's süsse Labung sein,  
 Bei seinem sanften Flügelschlag  
 Verstumme Schmerz und Pein.  
 Bei Waffenklang, bei heissem Streit  
 Flamm' es empor den Muth,  
 Und alles unverstandne Leid  
 Mach' seine Stimme gut.

Doch wo die Sünde lauert  
 Mit blut'gem Schlangenblick,  
 Da werd's zum brausenden Orkan,  
 Treib' sie ins Meer zurück.  
 Auf jeden Spalt im Elendhaus  
 Leg' sich's wie Balsam kühl,  
 Es reinige die Tempel aus,  
 Setz' jeder Not' ein Ziel.

Und wenn dies Lied gelungen,  
 Nicht wünscht' ich Gold noch Ehr',  
 Zerschlagen möcht' die Leier ich  
 Und sing' kein andres mehr.  
 Im Wald müsst ihr verscharrten  
 Mich heimlich unterm Tann',  
 Und Niemand soll erfahren,  
 Wer dieses Lied ersann.—

In the same number, Baron von Liliencron has a literary and historical essay, of which the object is to compare the Wallenstein of Schiller's tragedy with the Wallenstein which recent research has revealed to us.—In the paper entitled 'Biene und Honig,' Herr Bernhard Kübler writes most entertainingly of bees and honey. He does not, however, look at the subject from the scientific standpoint, but rather from the literary; and shows the part which bees play in poetry and folklore.—From a most interesting article in which Herr Kraus gives his reminiscences of the late Maxime Du Camp the following hitherto unpublished anecdote, showing how the French writer succeeded in getting from Boulanger a confession of his intended policy, is worth giving. At the time when Boulanger's star was in its zenith, a lady friend of Du Camp's was invited to a dinner where she was to be the general's neighbour. She asked Du Camp how she was to manage with the Minister for War. He instructed her to wait for a fitting moment, and when she saw the wine and woman-loving general at that stage when truth will out, to whisper the question, 'What will you do when you are Emperor?' The would-be dictator fell into the trap and answered, 'Eh bien, je ferai la noce!' which may be rendered into corresponding slang by, 'I'll have a jolly spree!'-In the June number General Verdy du Vernois begins his 'Personal Reminiscences of the War of 1870-71.' The first instalment is chiefly noticeable for the portraits which it gives of the leaders of the German armies.—In an instructive paper, Herr Weismann explains how insects see, and conveys a considerable amount of scientific information in a most popular form.—Both numbers have the usual political, literary, and dramatic reviews.

#### *R U S S I A.*

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII (Questions Philosophical and Psychological), begins its twenty-fifth number with a paper from the Editor of the journal explaining the steps taken by the Moscow Psychological Society to join in the national (one might say the European) mourning, on account of the

death of Alexander III. Then we come to the opening paper, which following up previous articles deals with the personality of G. S. Skovoroda, the Ukraine philosopher, as a thinker. But little understood by his contemporaries, or even by the succeeding generation, the epithet 'Mystic' has been applied to him without his really deserving it. His works are written in his own peculiar style, which is elegant, powerful and compressed. At the same time he was fully master of the subjects on which he wrote. The misunderstandings current concerning him mainly arose from the circumstance that those who took upon themselves to write of him were not acquainted with his writings or only very partially so. The author of this article, M. Yeffimenko, remarks that his predecessor, in dealing with the writings of Skovoroda, M. Zelenoagorskie, has also gone scarcely sufficiently far enough to make known the writings of our author. Yeffimenko remarks that when he first became acquainted with Skovoroda as a thinker, he was struck by his intellectual relationship to Spinoza, and as he grew more acquainted with Skovoroda, he was the more struck with this from the fact that he found that his resemblance to Spinoza did not arise from his having studied Spinoza's writings, or from acquaintance with his doctrines.—To this succeeds a paper by Prince S. N. Troubetzkoi, on 'Determinism and Moral Freedom.' The author begins by telling us that the good and evil actions of man which are imputed to him, are counted his own, proceeding from his free will. The will of man is determined to action by these or those tendencies, feelings, presentations; aims are determined by the accompaniment of preceding causes, inborn peculiarities, education, and the whole life of man which constitutes his character. And as there are no actions without causes, so the whole of our actions are conditioned by these or the other causes, or this or the other empirical motives. The general conclusion to which our author comes in dealing with this question is as follows:—The moral life of a man does not depend on a mere physical determinism dependent on certain physical or physiological causes. Nor is it determined by one set of feelings, affections, or even by one class of aims or ideas, which compel him by his own, or the force of another consciousness. Neither, last of all, is it determined by the inner compulsion of his own motives, according to a law of psychological determinism, nor even by his own appreciation within himself of motives. Man can act from ideas as his motives, or as a rational or moral ground of action; but, at the same time, as a rational moral creature, man is free from the motives of an unconditional determinism, recognising them as the basis of his actions. He may be conscious

of a moral and purely ideal necessity leading him to the right, and yet he may act contrary to sufficient grounds, contrary to reason and duty or otherwise to a moral necessity. Such being the case, the question concerning the freedom of the will can be decided only in connection with the question concerning the nature of our moral consciousness, *i.e.*, in connection with the critical practical reason.—Amongst the papers in the special part of the journal is a lengthy one called forth by several that preceded it on the philosophy of Kant, professing to be a commentary on the Critique of Pure Reason. It is designated 'Kant in actuality and in imagination.'—This is followed by a continuation of Prof. Kozloff's papers on the life and works of the late Prof. Teichmüller of Dorpat. A brief sketch of his life has already been given; the present paper is occupied by an analysis of his principal works.—The number begins with a paper from the pen of M. B. M. Tchicherin, on the question of 'Space and Time.' These metaphysical entities are discussed more briefly than in Prof. Grot's papers. The author enquires what they are, their properties? Are they purely subjective determinations of the human reason as Kant thought, or have they an origin or in relation to objects also an objective reference? May they not have even some reference to the Absolute? If the last, have they a substantial or merely relational existence? As to the nature of Time, M. Tchicherin decides that it is merely a pure form of succession in its threefold reference of present, past, and future, in such wise that the past moment has disappeared, the present, so far as it can be realised to have any more than a mere ideal existence, is with us for a fleeting instant, the future has still to make its appearance. Fleeting and uncertain as the moment is, our author finds certain properties as belonging to it. These are uninterruptedness, equality of dimension, divisibility, and infinitude. Not that any such moment has much to do with the last, but their sum ever flowing on in their uninterruptedness has such a reference while each moment is a unity, and the sum of moments in their unending flow has neither beginning nor end, but comprehends all. Our author finds other properties. These are—1, Continuity; 2, Quickness; 3, Periodicity. As to what Time is, it is decided that it is a pure form of succession, but it is the succession of something else, the succession of nothing is nought. Yet it may be an attribute of the eternally acting subject, object, or absolute. M. Tchicherin next proceeds to analyse Space. It, too, is an empty form of extension, yet it includes all things. In itself it contains the bare idea or image of exten-

sion. Time, however, may be considered as successive moments, and as proceeding forwards and forming a protensive line, while the other entity Space may be considered as parts excluding one another, and thus forming the empty form of Space as different from Time. Space may be considered as possessing properties not dissimilar to those of Time.—This article is succeeded by a notice of the life of Samuel Puffendorff, one of the personages of the time of the Thirty Years' War. An interesting article by M. Vladimer Solovieff on the 'Ascetic Element in Morality' follows. The aim of it is to show the origin of the belief that evil springs mainly from the body or bodily nature. The general part of the journal ends with a paper by M. P. Babarikin, 'On the Nature of Beauty,' and M. Tokarski seeks the 'Origin and Development of Moral Feeling' in those principles of shame, sympathy, and veneration, so lately examined by M. Vladimir Solovieff. The rest of the 'Questions' is occupied by Reviews and Bibliography.

**ROOSKAHYAH MYSŁ**—*Russian Opinion*—(April and May).—Our old friend lives on as vigorously as ever. It is marvellous with what industry and skill the editor, Mr. Lavroff, collects and marshals his 500 pages monthly.—'Bread' is the short title of a lengthy romance, by D. N. Mamin Sibiryak, commenced in January, which shows as yet no sign of close to its exciting career, extending already to 241 pages.—'History of a Samoyede,' Thomas Vylka of Nova Zembla, styled 'an immortal Chateaubriand,' by K. Nosiloff, is complete in our two present numbers.—'Their Souls' is a romance translated from the French of the Countess de-Martel (known as Gyp), which commenced in March, and bids fair to last.—'Poetry' is represented by L. Antonofski, A. M. Fedoroff, and by M. M. Gherbanofski (3 pieces).—'Goddess Diana' is a tale of very un-classical time and scene, the real name of the heroine being Elizabeth Gregorievna Vazentseff. The author, P. A. Sergienka, proposed to complete in two numbers, but a third instalment is now promised.—'Kamo griadeyshi?' (Quo vadis?) a romance of the time of Nero, is a clever translation from the Polish of Henry Senkevich. Commencing in April only, it has probably a long lease before it, Mr. Senkevich being a fairly verbose writer. This completes the imaginative portion of our two present numbers, comprising 406 pages.—The matter of fact portion contains many articles of interest. 'Résumé of a President' is a description of trial by jury and its usefulness, by Serghe Victorski.—'Speech before a Disputation,' delivered on March 15 (27), probably in the Moscow University (though

we are not told where), by I. I. Ivanoff, is a masterly review of the modern literary position.—‘Foundations of Scientific Theory, of Art, and of Criticism,’ by L. E. Obolenski; and ‘Insurance of Labourers in Germany,’ by G. B. Jollos, are serious papers.—Another chapter is furnished of P. N. Milyoukoff’s treatise, entitled ‘Chief Current of Russian Historical Thought in the 18th and 19th Centuries.’—‘Position of Statistics among the subjects of Agronomical education,’ by A. Th. Fortunatoff, is of equal interest with ‘Observations concerning Literature,’ by O. T. V.—Two further instalments of I. I. Ivanyoukoff’s ‘Outlines of Provincial Life’ are given.—‘Home Review’ treats of the economical condition of labourers in villages; shortening of workmen’s hours in the paper industry; conditions necessary for the settlement of colonists in Siberia; care of the Tchernigoff government in respect of popular education; sanitary condition of Board schools and their pupils; measures supposed to overthrow the agricultural crisis; and of the decease of the literary N. P. Lanin and A. N. Maklakoff.—‘Foreign Review’ glances at German, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Balkan, and Chinese-Japanese affairs, but gives the greatest share of attention to the incidents connected with the celebration of Prince Bismarck’s 80th birthday.—‘Contemporary Art’ treats chiefly of musical doings at the Moscow theatres. Our Moscovite friends seem to have had a lively time of it in spite of their year of mourning for the late Emperor.—The ‘Bibliographic Division’ contains notices of 74 new works and reprints, but no English author is therein represented.—A history of English popular risings and rebellions and the reforms springing therefrom by M. M. Kovalefski, is entitled ‘Angliskahyah Poughachofshina.’ Our men of ‘light and leading’ among the discontented classes have little idea that they are thus typified in Russian literature by the rebel Cossack chief Pugatcheff, who in the reign of the Empress Catherine II. personated her husband Peter III., who was said to have died in prison a week after his dethronement in 1762, and who himself came to grief in 1775.—English attention is also bid for by an article entitled ‘Tenure of land in Russia and in Ireland,’ by A. A. Manouiloff.—‘Russian Colonies in the Caspian Districts,’ by G. V. Tarnofski; ‘The Unfortunate Lucky-one,’ a review of a posthumous work of A. N. Apoukhtin by A. M. Skabichefski; ‘Richard III.,’ from the new book on Shakespeare by George Brandess; a memoir of ‘Felicia Cavalotti,’ by S. V. L.; and a paper on ‘Mathematics as a Science, and its Scholastic Surrogates,’ by V. P. Sh. bring to a close two most interesting numbers.

## ITALY.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (April 15th)—Signor Franchetti, in a paper on 'The Future of the Italian African Colony,' gives it as his opinion that by furnishing an insignificant capital the Italian Government might enable hundreds of Italian peasant-families to acquire by their labour in the colony economic independence and moral regeneration, not to be obtained in their own country.—F. Nobili-Vitallesche writes on 'Parliamentarism in Italy.'—Luigi Palma describes the attempt at making a constitution in Naples in 1820.—Ernesto Mancini enumerates many of the most important facts which show the influence of their surroundings on the development of living organisms. He hopes, in common with many disciples of the transformist doctrine, to see the modifications produced by surroundings, classed and arranged as simple physical and chemical phenomena, ruled by determinate laws. Such classification he thinks would render possible the solution of several serious economic questions, and lead to the altruism and social well-being, which at present Nature herself hinders us from achieving.—C. Tondini contributes a long and learned article on 'Russia and the Union of the Churches.'—The bibliographic review notices J. S. Nicholson's 'Historical Progress and Ideal Socialism,' and also R. F. Ely's 'Socialism,' mentioning specially the broad and impartial exposition given in the latter book.—(May 1st) opens fittingly with an exhaustive paper on 'Tasso,' by J. Del Lungo, in which he points out Leopardi's enthusiasm for Tasso.—'Venice, its Art and Industries,' is the theme of the following paper, by P. Molmenti, describing its decline and revival.—F. Martini writes a biographical sketch of 'The Deputy G. Giuoti,' giving some of his political letters.—G. Lorenzini casts a long 'Look at the China-Japanese War.'—O. Z. Bianco describes all that Science has discovered about the moon.—And there is the lyrical prelude on Tasso's 'Aminta' delivered at the Argentine Theatre in Rome on the occasion of the poet's tercentenary.—(May, 15th)—Professor Zumbini gives an account of his 'Ascent of Mount Ventoux,' which he made with the intention of studying Petrarch's sensations while making the same ascent; the result is an interesting paper.—L. Palmi's chapters on 'The Attempt at a Constitution in Naples in 1820' are here concluded.—E. Penchia contributes 'Some Account of the Historians and Poets of the Val d'Aosta and neighbourhood.'—V. writes on 'Exchange,' and E. Arbib describes the 'Proceedings during the XVIIIth Italian Parliament.'—E. Rudolfi has a short 'Memoir of Gaetano Milanese,' who was much

esteemed as an art-critic and historian.—(June, 1st)—A. Graf contributes a paper entitled ‘On Re-reading the Last Letters of Jacopo Ortis.’—P. Fambri discusses the ‘Science of the Point of Honour,’ apropos of Croabbon’s book on that subject.—G. Baffico sends the first part of a novelette ‘In the Darkness.’—G. E. Saltini writes on Leonora degli Albizzi and Sforza Almeni, as this month’s portion of his ‘Medicean Tragedies.’—Fanny Salazar writes a short memoir of V. Botto, who died in New York last year.—E. Masi reviews Barbiera’s book on ‘The Salon of Countess Maffei and Milanese Society.’—(June 15, 1895).—C. F. Ferraris discusses the university question in France, founding his observations on L. Liard’s *L’enseignement supérieur en France, 1789-1893*.—G. A. Cesareo contributes an interesting paper on Petrarch’s *Poesie volgari*, according to the most recent researches.—A. Mossi writes a short and appreciative memoir of his friend, the celebrated biologist, Carl Ludwig.—A. Paoli writes on ‘Pietro Verri and Alessandro Manzoni.’—Professor Mariano writes a religious paper, in which he declares that the Christian *truth* is an universal form of faith; that the Christian *credo* contains all other beliefs, and is the ideal unity of these. It is sufficient, he says, if the State hold firm to the substance of that *credo*, as it is indispensable.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (April 1-16).—A. Rossi reviews ‘The Ethics of Success,’ by William Thayer, Franklin, Mass., fully discussing the subject. In applying the principles of success to Italian affairs, the critic says that he is firmly persuaded that his country is sound at the core, and that it depends entirely on the Italians to restore circulation to the life-blood of Italy.—G. di Revel describes briefly the Italian colony in Africa, and its commerce.—G. Grabruski’s theme is the French Revolution, the Empire, and the Restoration.—T. Martini gives an account of the wax-models prepared by Signor Tortori for the Royal Anatomy Museum of Florence, with its origin and history. Egisto Tortori was a self-made man, and T. Martini’s article puts the man and his work in an interesting light.—A. Bortari sends from Athens a description of the archæological discoveries made at Delphi.—The letters of a country parson are continued.—Luisa Anzoleto, a highly esteemed woman and author, contributes a short study on Cesar Cantu as an educator of the people.—Poperti notices Chiala’s ‘Secret policy of Napoleon III.’; and M. Ricci gives an account of the new Italian version of Aristophanes’ ‘Birds.’—There are also some hitherto unpublished letters by Raffaello Zei, one of the heroes of Curtanone, to his

father in Florence. They date from Pisa in 1848, the last being written from the hospital at Mantua, shortly before the patriot's death.—A. de Marchi writes on the Roman alimentary laws.—(May 1.)—'Torquato Tasso' and 'Aminta' are respective papers by A. Monti and G. Fortebracci in honour of the poet's tercentenary.—A. Armanni discusses the Agrarian strikes in the province of Cremona.—Senator Rossi gives some information on the forced cultivation of vines.—V. Grachi discusses social progress and Christian thought, saying the first depends on the last.—P. Turiello contributes a political paper entitled, 'From Senapé to Monte Citorio (the Italian House of Parliament).—L. d'Isengard contributes a few lively 'Pen-sketches' from his album of the patriotic campaign in Italy in 1861.—A. V. Vecchi, in describing 'The maritime war of Italians against the Austrians,' arrives at the Dano-German struggle in 1848.—L. de Cambray Digny has a discourse on socialism, to be continued.—(May 16).—'Tyranny according to Savonarola and Alfieri' is the subject of a paper by A. Zardo.—G. Grovamuzzi contributes material towards a history of earthquakes in Tuscany, and has collected authentic accounts of no less than 600 shocks in that province since the 10th century.—E. Mazzoni discusses melodramatic reform; Edirge begins a novelette, entitled 'Roses and Thorns.'—E. di Parravicino proposes remedies for existing social and political evils.—A. G. Touoni has a learned paper on the eighth centenary of the Council held by Urban II. in Piacenza in 1095.—A. G. Touoni writes on science and religion; and an Italian Catholic voter puts the question whether it is right for Catholics to vote, and decides that it is their duty.—(June 1).—L. Bonin has a monograph on De Maistre.—A. Tagliaferri discusses the large subject of nature, science, and religion.—V. di Giovanni describes the honours paid to Tasso in Sicily.—G. Rondini discusses the commentaries of E. S. Piccolomini.—C. Stravelli contributes notes on the historic basis of Italian art.—A. Rossi has some comments to make on the commercial treaty between Italy and France.—(June 16).—F. Persico writes on 'Science or Religion,' apropos of F. Brunetière's article in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, entitled 'After a visit to the Vatican.'—G. Cassani's 'dialogues' on the temporal power includes in this number Adrian I and Leo III.—C. del Pezzo discusses the Eastern schism and the return of the Greek Church to Catholic unity.—F. Salvatori has a fine versified paraphrase of the Book of Ruth.—G. Hamilton-Cavaletto points out, in a long, learned article, some logical lapses in what he calls scientific socialism.—G. Fortebracci writes on

the critics of the *Vita Nuova*.—C. Bassi publishes extracts from the memoir of Cardinal Massaja.

GIORNALE DANTESCO (1895, 1-2), contains:—‘The Giolitine edition of the Divine comedy annotated by Tasso,’ by T. Casini.—‘Dante and Music,’ by L. Paprini.—‘The Second Circle of the *Inferno*, apropos of a recent publication, by F. Cipolla.—‘The Second Death,’ by C. Carboni.—‘The Indian type of Lucifer in Dante,’ by A. de Gubernatis.—‘Dante’s Beatrice,’ by C. Carboni.—‘A new construction of the Valley of the Abyss,’ by V. Russo.—‘Vapori accesi non vid’io si torto,’ by F. Ronchetti.—The bibliographical reviews notice Moore’s ‘A variant in the *Vita Nuova*.—Toynbee Page’s article on ‘Rahab’s place in Dante’s Paradise;’ and G. Maruffi criticises favourably Herinam Velsner’s ‘The influence of Dante on Modern Thought,’ but says that the author seems ignorant of the fact that, contemporaneously with Dante’s ‘*De Monarchia*’ there appeared other treatises on policy and jurisprudence of the same nature. The author, says the critic, would have done well to consult Professor Cipolla’s work on the ‘*De Monarchia*,’ and on the ‘*De Potestate regia et papali*,’ by John of Paris. He also thinks it a pity that Mr. Velsner did not mention Doré and the Italian artist, Scaramuzza, among the illustrators of the Divine Comedy.

NAPOLE NOBILISSIMA (April-May), contains:—‘The Frescos in the Ancient Church of S. Maria Annunziata,’ by E. Bertaux.—‘The Sansevero Chapel and Don Raimondo di Sangro,’ by F. Colonna.—‘The Street Toledo,’ by A. Colombo.—‘The Painting of S. Giroloma,’ by V. d’Auria.—‘The Foundation and Primitive Church of Santa Chiara,’ by G. di Montemazor.—‘The Church and Convent of S. Lorenzo,’ by de la Ville Sur-Yelon.—‘The Sculptures of Michael Angelo Naccherino in Naples,’ by A. M. di Serracapreola.—‘Sorrento to Tasso,’ by Don Ferrante.

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO (1895, 1)—Carlo Errera describes ‘Sebastian Caboto’s Expedition to Rio della Plata in the 16th Century,’ taking his facts from the works and documents recently published.—L. Staffetta relates an episode in the life of Piero Strozzi, quoting from many letters of the time.—S. Bondi describes two hitherto unknown love-songs, one by Sebastian Re, of Chioggia, entitled ‘Le lagrime d’Amore’ (MDLII.)—the other by the Neapolitan poet Capaccio, entitled ‘Il Tempio d’Amore,’ and published in the 16th century.—The general review notices with commendation, J. Temple-Leader’s ‘Life of Sir Robert Dudley.’—U. Marchesini

writes on 'Notaries in ancient Florence.'—L. G. Pelissini contributes some letters by Louis XII., written during the preparation for the campaign of Naples in 1494.

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE (1895, 1)—Contains: 'Notes on Feudal Archives,' by N. Barone.—'The Migration of the name Calabria,' by M. Schipa.—'Summary of the Acts of Charles Eighth's Chancellery in Naples,' by O. Mastrojanno.—'A Diploma of the first Count of Lecce,' by G. Guerriere.—'Urban V. and Johanna I. of Naples,' by F. Cerasoli.—'Miscellaneous Neapolitan Epigraphs,' by A. Sogliano.—The Bibliographic Review notices St. Clair Baddeley's 'Charles III. of Naples and Urban VI. etc.,' deprecating its want of method and journalistic style, which renders it almost useless. The book, says the critic, is full of mistakes.

RIVISTA DELLA TRADIZIONE ITALIANI (April, Roma)—(The first names are those of the towns or places in which the traditions are at home).—Polesine; 'Prejudices and Superstitions.'—Terranova Pausania; 'The Wisdom of Solomon.'—Nuoro; 'Beliefs and Popular Medicine.'—Campochiaro; Molise; 'Love-songs, Praise of Beauty, Wishes, Declarations.'—'When Easter will be in May.'—'The Madonna of Graces at Saint Catherine Villarmosa.'—'The Treasure of Monteforte.'—'Saint Andree.'—'On the Foundation of Nizza della Paglia.'—'The Shadow of the Gran Sasso.'—'The Bridge of Pavia.'—'The Legend of St. John called "Boccodoro" (golden-mouth).'—'The Lamester.'—'Novellettes on Creation.'—'Stornelli and Tales of the Province of Pisa.'—'Popular Songs of Acri.'—'The Coming of the New Priest to Santa Croce Camerina.'

#### F R A N C E .

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1895).—M. Louis Leger has the first place here with an article entitled, 'Etudes de Mythologie Slave,—Peroun et Saint Elie.' He gives first a summary of the references to Peroun in the Slave literature at command, and shows from these that he was regarded as the god of thunder and of storm. When the Russians, the Servians, and Bulgarians became nominally Christian, Peroun naturally had formally to be abjured, but M. Leger shows that in the folk-lore of the people his place came really to be occupied by a Bible saint, namely Elijah. The reason very probably was that the narratives connected with Elijah, such as his being in the storm on Mount Horeb when the thunder and the tempest and the earthquake shook the mountain, and his being finally carried away from the earth in a chariot of fire,

seemed to link him in the popular fancy to their ancient deity of thunder and storm. M. Leger gives numerous proofs of the hold which Elijah has on the imaginations of the Slave race, and the veneration paid him on the day consecrated to him in their annual festivals.—Heer M. A. N. Rovers furnishes an interesting study on the Apocalypse of John. It is chiefly a critical notice of a recent work on that book by Herr Pfarrer Chr. Rauch, of Darmstadt, which had been sent in in competition for the Teyler Society prize, and received the gold medal. Heer Rovers first surveys the history of recent controversy as to the unity, date, and authorship of the Apocalypse; and then goes carefully over Herr Rauch's work, and discusses its various parts. The question that is chiefly engrossing attention at present is, as to whether the Apocalypse is of Judaic origin or not. Is it a Jewish Apocalypse that has been edited by a Christian and transformed to serve a Christian purpose? or is it a compilation from various Apocalyptic writings of Jewish origin? or is it a Jewish Christian work of an original character? Herr Pfarrer Rauch discusses these questions, and here Heer Rovers passes his judgments as to them under review, and gives his reasons for approving or disapproving of his decisions. Herr Rauch regards the book as substantially Jewish, and in its present form it has undergone more than one redaction at the hands of Christian writers. What the interpolations are, he ventures to point out; and here the reviewer indicates where he fails to see eye to eye with him. The date of the component parts of the work, and the final redaction of it, are also carefully discussed here, but this, in full appreciation of the difficulty there is in coming to anything like assurance on the first of these points.—M. J. Deramey endeavours to determine the date of the introduction of Christianity into Abyssinia and into the countries bordering on it, or whose populations were ethnically of the same stock, and to trace its spread or development in those regions. Mr. Bent's explorations and discoveries receive warm commendation in the course of this article.—M. A. Quentin takes in hand a new study of the Izdubcer Legends, led thereto by a recent work of Dr. Jeremiah, which M. Quentin regards as very imperfect and very inadequate.—M. Etienne Coquerel gives an elaborate summary of M. Renouvier's 'Etude philosophique sur la doctrine de Jésus Christ.' It was published two years ago in the fourth volume of *L'Année Philosophique*, but is part of a larger work on 'The philosophy of the history of religions.' As its title in this detached form shows M. Renouvier does not deal with the details of the life of Jesus. It is his teaching and the development of doctrine that engages

his pen. In this article M. Coquerel puts before us the conclusions to which M. Renouvier has come, and, as he himself says, 'to estimate them with that respectful but complete freedom which the author would doubtless be the first to recommend.' This review will create a strong desire to study M. Renouvier's work by itself. It is clearly a work of considerable interest and importance, and shows how a calm and philosophic mind has been impressed with the moral teaching and power of the Galilean prophet.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS. (No. 2, 1895).—M. the Abbé de Moor concludes in this number the series of articles he has been contributing on the Book of Judith. In this last article he answers the arguments put forward by opponents of the Abbé's views, which are based on the Song of Praise, given as composed and sung by Judith in celebration of the death of Holofernes, and on the *data* regarding Judith herself in the concluding verses of the book. He dates the work, it will be remembered, from the years immediately following 648 B.C., and attributes its composition to the High Priest named in it, Joachim, or, as he is called in the Vulgate, Eliakim. The Abbé de Moor, it may be mentioned, identifies this High Priest with the Azariah mentioned in 1 Chronicles vi. 14, and ascribes the last verses of the work to the son and successor of that priest. The first of the objections based on the Song of Judith is the appearance of the word 'Titans' in it. It is contended that at this period the Hebrews had not come into contact with the Greeks, and become acquainted with their mythology. Our author's answer to that is that in the original Hebrew version the text most likely had 'Sons of Anak' and 'Rephaim,' and the Greek translator afterwards used the phrase that would be most readily comprehensible to the readers for whom he was translating. The other objection based on the song is the mention of the 'Persians' and the 'Medes' together, as present in Holofernes' camp, and as surprised at Judith's courage and piety. This objection springs, the Abbé tells us, from ignorance of history, and goes on to show how reasonable it is to suppose that, after the battle of Ragae in 651 B.C., Persian contingents were in Holofernes' army in this expedition. The age of Judith, according to the *data* of the book, is regarded by many critics as altogether incompatible with the description given of her beauty and physical attractions, when she appeared before the Assyrian general; and the details regarding her death at the age of 105 years are also regarded as casting suspicion on the veracity of the book. On the Abbé's showing she was fifty-two when she went forth on her

patriotic and adventurous expedition, but what freshness of beauty she then naturally lacked was supplied by supernatural means to ensure her success. The age of Judith at the time of her death, it is suggested, may have been by a copyist's mistake, or a redactor's ingenuity, altered from 75 to 105, and the Abbé shows how slight a change in the reading of the Hebrew letters would effect such a difference in the representation of her age. If her age at her death was 75 then that would allow ample reason for the statement, 'And there was none that made the children of Israel any more afraid in the days of Judith, nor a long time after her death.' The rest of M. de Moor's article is taken up with the political consequences, so far as Israel and Assyria were concerned, of Holofernes' death and the flight of his discouraged troops.—The next article has a somewhat sad interest. It is the second part of M. the Abbé de Broglie's paper read before the Scientific Congress at Brussels on 'Les Prophètes et la Prophecy d'après les travaux d'Kuenen.' Since its appearance here its learned author has fallen a victim to a lunatic's vengeance for an imaginary injury. This section of his paper is devoted to an examination of Dr. Kuenen's views on Prophecy in the light of New Testament fulfilment, or non-fulfilment of the predictions of the Hebrew prophets.—The first section of an article by M. Castonnet des Fosses, vice-president of the *Société de Geographic commerciale*, on 'The Civilization of Ancient Peru' follows. That civilization he happily describes as 'one of the curiosities of history.' This part of the paper is taken up with the question as to the mixed peoples that formed the population of Peru at the time of the Spanish invasion and with the traditions as to its past found existing then among them.

**REVUE DES RELIGIONS.** (No. 3, 1895).—This number contains only two articles, but the 'Chronique' is almost exceptionally rich in its survey of the literature of a religious character of the period it covers. The chief articles are continuations of papers begun in former numbers. The first is the continuation and concluding part of M. the Abbé de Broglie's paper read before the Scientific Congress at Brussels last year. It was a review and refutation of Kuenen's 'Prophets and Prophecy in Israel.' Here he deals chiefly with Kuenen's treatment of Prophecy in the light of the New Testament. The vitiating error of the whole book is, the Abbé says, the false idea of the nature of prophecy from which Kuenen started. 'He fancied that the prophetic texts had respectively only one meaning; that that meaning must have been transparent; and that the prophets themselves and their contemporaries must have understood that

meaning.' 'Quite different,' says the Abbé, 'is the true conception of prophecy. It is *une parole de Dieu*, addressed to future generations, and which was not to be understood until after its fulfilment. It was an enigma of which the fulfilment was to furnish the key.' Did the prophets themselves, he goes on to ask, understand their prophecies? At best, he thinks, imperfectly. Prophecy is 'une vision lointaine; l'événement est vu au travers des nuages mêlés à d'autres événements intermédiaires ou plus éloignés.' 'Le sens chrétien,' he adds, 'est le vrai sens des prophéties.' M. le Abbé proceeds to contrast at some length the conception formed of Prophecy and of the Law by St. Paul with that of Kuenen, and then sets himself to show wherein the latter's conception of the *evolution* of Christianity from Judaism fails to meet the necessities of the case. Christianity is not, he says, the evolved flower and fruit of Judaism. A new creative and transforming element had to enter, and did enter, it in the Person of Christ to effect this. Christianity, or the Christian religion, was the work of Christ.—M. Castonnet des Fosses continues and concludes his extremely interesting paper on 'The Civilization of Ancient Peru.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April, May, June).—In the two numbers bearing respectively the dates of the 1st of April and of the 1st of June, M. Albert Sorel continues and concludes an historical study, 'De Leoben à Campo-Formio,' which, together with M. Georges Duruy's 'Bonaparte à Toulon,' in the first of the May numbers, shows that the most conservative of French reviews has not escaped the influence of the Napoleonic revival. After detailing the incidents which led up to the treaty of Campo-Formio, M. Sorel thus characterises it: 'By the nature of the negotiations which preceded it, and of the compromises which form the substance of it, the treaty of Campo-Formio is directly connected with the treaties of the old régime. It is the immediate consequence of the treaties for the partition of Poland. It is the application, on the part of the Republic, for the benefit of France and in favour of the gradual emancipation of Italy, of the system of compensation formerly turned against France and constantly carried out by the Courts of Europe. But, at the same time, this treaty is connected with the Napoleonic policy; it is a connecting link between this policy and that of the Republic; it is pregnant with wars which must bring about either the subjection of Europe or the retreat of France to its ancient limits. The extermination of England remains the necessary, yet impossible condition of peace. In 1801, in 1805, in 1807, in 1809, France, victorious over the Austrians, the Prussians, and the Russians, will have

to be told, "Before taking any repose, turn your eyes towards England." Bonaparte, who, through fifteen years of war is to carry on this paradoxical policy, foresees, as early as 1797, its unavoidable consequences, and foretells their *dénouement*. On the 7th of October he writes to Talleyrand the following words, in which his destiny was revealed, "What you wish is that I should work miracles, and that is not in my power."—M. Duruy's article consists of two parts, an extract from the memoirs of Barras, referring to the part played by Napoleon at the siege of Toulon, and limiting that part to three gross blunders committed by him; and an examination of Barras's statement. In the latter, the author adduces documents to prove that it was Napoleon who first saw where the keys of the town lay; that it was Napoleon who alone prepared the means for fetching them from the place where he had said they lay; and that it was Napoleon who, with his comrades and his chiefs, actually did go for them, and succeeded in obtaining them.—M. G. Bonet-Maury makes Mrs. Humphrey Ward and her works the subject of an article which may be characterised as rather analytical and explanatory than strictly critical. He joins to it a sketch of the philanthropic movement with which Mrs. Ward is connected.—In 'Terre d'Espagne,' which runs through several numbers, M. René Bazin gives an admirable account of his travels in the Iberian peninsula. In their blending of description and that personal element which gives an individuality to narratives of this kind, and raises them to a higher level than the mere guide-book, the articles show exceptional taste and judgment.—German political economy, and German politics are dealt with by M. Raphaël, Georges Levy, and M. G. Valbert respectively. The former gives a sketch of the financial system of the Empire; the latter recalls the circumstances of the Prince of Hohenzollern's memorable and fateful candidature.—April brings two other notable articles. One of them continues M. Bentzon's study on the condition of Women in the States; the other, by M. Edouard Hervé, considers the financial position of Greece. The author is of opinion that the wasteful expenditure of the Government is at the bottom of all the evil, and is the only obstacle to the economic development of an energetic nation, which only wants to work and to prosper.—'Lacordaire Intime,' is amongst the most interesting contributions to any of the six numbers for the quarter. It is written by the Comte d'Haussonville, who, with the help of unpublished letters, draws a charming sketch of the great Dominican orator, both as a friend and as a priest.—In 'le Havre et la Seine Maritime,' M. J. Fleury gives a history of the works which have given le Havre its commercial

importance, and also indicates those which are to be carried out with a view to putting it on a level with Liverpool and Glasgow, Antwerp and Rotterdam.—Several articles of exceptional interest are to be found in the number dated May 15th. Amongst these may be mentioned the further instalment of M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu's 'le Règne de l'Argent.' A more purely literary treat, however, is afforded to the reader in the charming paper in which M. Jean Dornis gives a sketch of the late poet and academician Leconte de Lisle, as he appeared to his intimate friends.—Thoroughly enjoyable, too, is M. Cherbilez's essay on Tasso. It is appreciative, but, at the same time it is keenly critical with regard to the legend which has gradually formed about the poet; and ought to modify, to some extent, the commonly received opinion with regard to his trials and misfortunes.—Of the remaining articles, it will suffice to indicate the first instalment—in the part for June 15th—of a study by M. Filon, whose subject is the contemporary English stage. This first section is devoted to a retrospect and deals with the period between 1820 and 1865.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES (No 1, 1895).—Under the title, 'Sa'id B. Hasan d'Alexandrie,' Dr. Ignatius Goldziher brings to light a treatise that seems to have escaped the attention of the historians of Islam altogether, but which seems of some import. He found it in a collection of Arabic MSS. in the Oriental library of M. the Comte de Landberg, at Tutzing, in North Bavaria. It purports to have been written by a Jew who had gone over from Judaism to Islam in 1298, B.C. The real object of the treatise was to prove that the Jewish Scriptures foretold the coming and mission of Mahomed, and a considerable part of it is taken up with the references which its author, one Sa'id B. Hasan, of Alexandria, regarded as referring to the Arabian prophet. It gives along with these, however, some details as to the author, and sheds some welcome light on the relations of Islam to Judaism in the time of the writer. Dr. Goldziher quotes from the treatise some of the most interesting passages as to the author's conversion to Islam, and gives a summary of the passages from the Old Testament on which Sa'id B. Hasan bases his argument. It was not an uncommon thing for converts from Judaism to Islam to adopt this method of justifying their change of religion; but this example of that method seems to have escaped the notice of previous writers on the subject. Dr. Goldziher follows up his article with giving a copy of the text as is in the MS. referred to.—The second article here discusses the origin and history of the Jewish festival of *Chanukah*. That it originated, as tradition affirms, at the purification and rededica-

tion of the Temple after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, M. Samuel Krauss does not here dispute ; but he thinks that certain elements entering into its celebration, and certain historic facts regarding it, point to its having been from the first something more than a mere feast of dedication of the Temple. It has the character of a joyful festival, and its observance extends over eight days. In both cases it has a strong likeness to the Feast of Tabernacles ; and M. Krauss regards, therefore, what is said as to this festival in the second book of the Maccabees, as resting on sound historic fact. We are there told that owing to the Jews not having been able to celebrate, in accordance with the precepts of the law, the Feast of Tabernacles preceding this, because of the measures taken against them by Antiochus, they took occasion now to combine with this feast of Dedication that of the Tabernacles in due form. The double form of the Feast has been perpetuated, but the real cause of this combination has been largely lost sight of. Other features in the celebration of Chanukah find their explanation in the double character it had at first ; viz., the solemnity of the reading of the Law at it, and the usage of the Hallel. M. Krauss discusses also the reasons why Chanukah is called by the names of ‘the Feast of Lights’ and ‘the Feast of the Women.’ It is an extremely interesting study and illustrative of the growth of traditions and the combinations that circumstances sometimes bring about in religious institutions.—M. A. Epstein unites here the *Tosefta*, or additions, to the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch, indicating the several editions which he has compared for his purpose in view.—M. D. Kaufmann gives the text of what he describes as ‘Le grand deuil de Jacob b. Solomon Sarfati,’ of Avignon. It is bearing on the sorrow caused by the Black Death.—The other articles of note are ‘Hafs al Qouti,’ by M. Ad. Neubauer ; ‘L’édition de la Bible rabbinique de Jean Buxtorf,’ by M. J. Derenbourg.—‘Les Juifs de Prague pendant la guerre de Trente Ans’ (suite), by M. M. Popper.—‘Victimes de l’Inquisition au XVII. siècle,’ by M. Moïse Schwab.—and ‘Documents sur les Juifs de Wiener-Neustadt’ (suite et fin), by M. Schweinburg-Eibenschitz.—Several important notes of a grammatical and historical character follow. The ‘Bibliography’ is also full and useful ; the Report of the Société for 1894, and a summary of its publications are given under ‘Actes et Conférences.’

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D’ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D’HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 2, 1895).—M. J. Halévy’s ‘Recherches Bibliques’ form the largest and most interesting of the contributions to this number. They are here again divided into two sections. The

first carries forward his critical and exegetical studies of the text of the Book of Genesis, while the second contains another instalment of his 'Notes pour l' interpretation des Psaumes.' The same method, as formerly, is here followed, and it goes without saying that both sections are characterised by the same scholarly qualities and minute, painstaking care as have been exhibited by M. Halévy in all his literary work. The task he has set before himself as regards the Book of Genesis will seem to very many, now that the 'modern critics' have got so firm a hold on the public attention, a somewhat thankless and a somewhat hopeless one. But so erudite a scholar and so capable a critic as M. Halévy deserves a more than patient hearing when he pleads for a re-consideration of the judgments passed by modern critics on the Hebrew text of Genesis, or of any Hebrew text; and his arguments in favour of the unity of authorship rest at least on well considered grounds, and merit the highest respect. The chapters in Genesis here examined are xvii. xviii. xix. and xx. They are each treated separately. The contents are first briefly summarised; then the text is subjected to a careful scrutiny, and corrections of it are suggested where any special obscurity seems to arise from the text in the Massoretic version, these corrections being defended with much learned skill. The objections of the modern critical school or schools are then considered. The Psalms here dealt with are xxxvi. to xxxix. Emendations are proposed where it is clear that copyists' mistakes have been made, or redactors' surmises have been substituted for the original; and, where corrections have been made to any large or important extent, a translation is furnished with these corrections introduced.—M. J. Perruchon continues his 'Index des Ideogrammes et des mots contenus dans les lettres babyloniennes d' El-Amarna,' as these letters have been given in this *Revue* and elsewhere by M. J. Halévy.—M. S. Karppe gives us here the copy (transcription and translation) of the more complete text of the Nabopolassar inscription which has been published by Mr. H. V. Hilprecht in Philadelphia, and of which a less perfect version was given by Herr Strassmaier some years ago. M. Karppe adds a brief critical commentary on the text as now produced.—M. Clement Huart continues his article on 'Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure,' and M. J. Halévy follows with a short series of 'Notes Epigraphiques,' and reviews of books.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Avril, 1895).—The first place is here given to an article bearing the title, 'La division des Syllabes,' by M. L. Havet, in which he deals with the theory expounded by

Dr. Whitley Stokes in the *Academy*, March 2, 1895, respecting the alliterations found in an Irish text, and the indications they furnish for the Irish method of dividing syllables as compared with the Latin. M. Havet is of opinion that the two methods are in much closer agreement than Dr. Stokes appears to think, and proceeds at some length to give the reasons for his opinions.—This is followed by an article by Dr. Whitley Stokes, who continues his studies of the Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas, and supplies a number of extracts from the Book of Lecan, containing a series of twenty-one related prose tales, with translations and notes.—M. E. Ernault contributes an interesting and scholarly paper under the title ‘Sur quelques textes Franco-Bretons’—‘Dialectia’ has a couple of notes on the Breton terminations *-mp* and *-mb*, and on *-lt* and *und* *-dr*, which occur in the local dialect of Ouessant in Britanny.—Under ‘Recent Changes made in Scotch Gaelic’ Mr. J. O. Russel writes on the changes which have made their appearance in the grammatical constructions of Scottish Gaelic since the middle of last century, and gives a number of examples taken from the Irish Testament of 1802, and the Scottish-Gaelic versions of 1767, 1807, and 1875.—M. E. Ernault’s ‘Etudes Bretonnes’ are continued, the sub-title being again, ‘Sur l’argot de la Roche.’—The ‘Chronique’ is unusually full, and contains a number of interesting items.

**LE MONDE MODERNE** (May, June, July).—In these three numbers fiction is represented by several completed stories, all of which, like the rest of the contributions to this magazine, are admirably illustrated.—Two papers which will be read with interest at the present moment are one bearing the signature of M. E. Bousson, with the title ‘Madagascar,’ and another signed ‘Lux,’ entitled ‘L’Expédition de Madagascar.’ The first contains a narrative of the affairs leading up to the present crisis, written, of course, from a French point of view, together with some account of the island, its administration, people, habits, and customs. The second describes the expeditionary army, and the difficulties to be surmounted on its way to the capital.—Travel is well represented by a ‘La Chine’ from the pen of M. S. de Goudourville, who gives his personal impressions of that country and its inhabitants, and by ‘En visite chez les Touareg Azdjer,’ by M. J.-B. d’Attanoux. Under the same heading may be classed ‘Les Coins ignorés du Comte de Kent,’ by M. B. H. Gausseron, who contributes to the June number an excellent paper on the marble quarries of Vermont, U. S.—The May number contains several papers of special interest for different classes of readers: ‘Une heure sur la planète Mars,’

by M. Flammarion, 'Le Breviaire Grimani,' by M. Neukomm, 'Frédéric Mistral,' by M. J. Carrère, and 'Les Fumeurs devant l'hygiène,' by Dr. E. Monin.—As might be expected the June number contains an article on the *Salons* of 1895. The paper is by M. L. Gouse, and has no fewer than 38 illustrations.—The July number has several papers connected with the Theatre, and an interesting account of a visit to the Pasteur Institution. There is the usual abundant supply of literary and other notes of the month in each number, more especially in that for July.

#### *S W I T Z E R L A N D.*

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSALLE ET REVUE SUISSE (April, May, June).—The first of these numbers begins, and the third of them concludes, a very valuable paper by M. Numa Droz, on the subject of obligatory insurance. The many questions bearing upon it are discussed with much skill and power, and in a spirit of great fairness and moderation. Without following the author into details, it may be indicated that he does not consider obligatory insurance against sickness to be a necessary corollary of obligatory insurance against accidents, and that though not prepared to decide as between free and obligatory insurance in the latter case, he is distinctly opposed to it in the former.—M. E. Rios again takes up the literary movement in Spain, and brings his series of articles on it up to date, giving his attention to what has been produced in Spain since he last wrote a similar paper, nearly two years ago.—M. Vilfredo Pareto writes about the dictatorship in Italy, by which he understands Crispi's administration. This, it scarcely requires to be pointed out, he by no means approves of, and considers to be at the bottom of several evils, amongst others of the increase of socialism, which, like everything else, has grown under persecution.—George Sand has been taken for the subject of a very able study by M. L. Marillier, whose estimate of that somewhat obsolete writer is marked with both fairness and sympathy.—The only complete article in the May number is one in which M. Abel Veuglaire gives an account of sport in Central Africa, drawn from the work lately published by M. Foa. Of the others again, all but one are continuations of papers already referred to, and that one begins an article on the Morocco question. It is continued, but not brought to a close in the June number.—M. Léo Quesnel devotes an article to two agnostics. These being Mr. Herbert Spencer and Professor Huxley, it does not contain anything particularly new to English readers.—An essay on R. L. Stevenson, by M. Aug. Glardou, is begun, and promises

well, but has not got to the point where it is possible to form a clear notion of the writer's estimate of him.—The Italian poet Boiardo, whose fourth centenary was celebrated last year, supplies M. Philippe Monnier with material for a comparatively short but well-written and well-balanced paper.—In all the numbers lighter literature is well represented, and the several chroniques are, as usual, excellent.

#### *SPAIN.*

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (April, 1895).—The story of 'The Last Waltz,' by Alcalá Galiano, is completed in this number. It is very Spanish, and full of analyses of motives, besides being sprightly and well-written.—'Round about Caste,' (*Casticismo*) by M. de Unamuno, explains that the term applies to the influence of Calderon in the theatre, as he best embodies the local and transitory spirit of high caste Castilian Spain. It is a 'Symbol of race.' He compares Shakespeare's living men, with the dry bones re-clothed by Calderon. It is a liberal and knowledgeable paper, and he asserts justly, that in no revelation of the 'Castilian spirit' do they enter far enough into that spirit to reach its heart—its humanity!—Echegaray continues his confessions, as he calls his 'Reminiscences,' they are lively reading.—A catalogue of the works of Goya, 280 in number, besides engravings, is given.—It seems the Spanish Government sent a commissioner to the States to report on the growth of the vine in the centre and east, and we have here a paper by him. Dr. Vera y Lopes notes, that while there are 80,000 hectares under vines in California, there are 84,000 in the rest of the States. Also California produces scarcely half a million hectolitres of wine, while the other States just pass this quantity.—Castelar handles the European situation with his usual grasp, and notes the absurd banquet 'against religion' in Paris, remarking on the necessity for both Science and Religion.—An article on the 'International Press' deals instructively with the modern movement in Turkey.—Wolf's papers on the 'Castilian and Portuguese Literature' are continued, and Pereda's last novel is reviewed. This—*Penas arriba*—is spoken of as one of the finest of the novels of the noted author of Santander.—May, 1895.—A new story by Emilia Pardo Bazan commences in this number, entitled 'The Drama.' It goes without saying that it is well-written and readable.—'Round about *Casticismo*' is continued, and deals with Mysticism and Humanism. It is a careful study of the coming of the new spirit in Spanish thought. 'A glance at the present mental condition of Spanish society, will display the old historic Caste struggling against the new

people.'—In Echegaray's 'Reminiscences,' he tells us that up to the age of forty he had neither written a single verse nor composed a single drama. But this most successful of modern Spanish dramatists further adds, that he composed little dramas all his life! 'That is to say, that I had always an irresistible tendency to combine imaginary successes, with a certain plan more or less clear, and even with a certain dramatic finality.'—'The Culture of the Vine in California,' goes deeply into figures, and shows the different classes of wines attempted, and the various districts, with their supplies.—A paper on the 'National Archæological Museum in its Old Dwelling,' gives the first information to the outside world that such a valuable collection exists, and has been newly made accessible.—In 'The International Press,' we find a paper on 'Survivors of this Savage State,' based on one by J. William Black, in the *Popular Science Monthly*.—Castelar is especially interesting this month; he believes in the universal advantages that may be derived from the triumphs of Japan; and enlarges on the disintegration of Protestantism, while Catholicism is the basis of a 'Universal religion, as it rules over so many different races.'—'Castilian and Portuguese Literature,' is continued, and a list of new books added.—June, 1895—'A Drama' of Bazan, is continued, and becomes more vivid and dramatic.—'Round about Caste' proceeds to deal with what the writer calls the 'Consumptive' state of Spanish thought at the present time. He says that 'our society is slow to receive an impression—despite an apparent impressionability that does not get beyond being epidemic irritability—and slow in losing it; arrivals are here as slow as departures, in ideas, in men, in customs.' A very suggestive paper.—'The Insurrection in Cuba, in view of the United States,' is a well-reasoned review of the situation from a purely Spanish point of view. It has been stirred up by the despatch of a *New York Herald* representative to Spain, and seeks to explain away the cause of the rebellion, and the determination of the insurgents to proclaim a republic. It does not explain the chronic discontent with the administration of the island that has continually bathed it in blood.—'Vine Culture in California' is concluded.—The 'Recollections' of Echegaray become startling!—In 'White versus Black,' we have a serious indictment against the United States, showing that during ten years they have lynched in the States more than a thousand black men and women. And these atrocities have not been limited to the Southern States: the State of New York has permitted these infamies in its territories, without making any effort to punish the authors.—Castelar is shrewdly discursive, and Wolf's 'Castilian and Portuguese Literature' is continued.—This magazine improves.

*HOLLAND.*

DE GIDS.—In the May number Conferus concludes ‘Mea Culpa,’ a short story, intensely pathetic, of which the interest lies in a true and minute unveiling of human nature and feelings.—‘Eastern Problems’ is a review of the collected writings of Prof. Veth intended as a compliment for his 80th birthday, which he just failed to reach. His great work on Java is now somewhat out of date, but up to the last he continued writing papers on questions connected with the East.—Next comes a review of ‘Marcella,’ highly complimentary to Mrs. Ward.—Van Wickevoort Cromelin contributes ‘Superstition in Japan,’ a most interesting paper destined to form a chapter in a book on Japan shortly to be published by Willink.—‘Ozone as a purifier of Drinking Water,’ by V. A. Julius, discusses the invention of Schweller, the sterilisation of water and the possibilities of its practical application without undue cost, but as to the last no reliable data are given.—‘A French book on the history of the Batavian Republic’ is a discussion of Legrand’s work recently translated into Dutch.—June begins with ‘Soul Bonds,’ a sketch of a mismated couple, the wife romantic and mystic, the husband scientific and materialistic.—A translation is given of the portion of the Shah’s diary referring to his visit to Netherlands in 1888.—Ian Veth has an interestingly written paper, ‘A Spoilt Masterpiece?’ discussing Dyserinck’s allegation that Van der Helst’s great picture the Arquebusier’s Banquet was mutilated by a third of the height. He thinks not, and also thinks Dyserinck’s estimate of Van Helst exaggerated.—‘Gaston Paris and his scholars,’ by Prof. A. G. van Hamel, is an account of the life and surroundings of the great French philologist, and of his influence on others in the study of mediæval lore and especially of the Romance languages. He gives a bright picture of Paris’s Sunday receptions and the celebrities to be met at them.—‘Investigation concerning the tiredness of School Children,’ by Henkels, opens an important question as to whether it is best for children to have short terms of work with play between, or the shortest possible work-hours and the rest of the day free, and other cognate inquiries.—July opens with a vivid little picture of Dutch peasant life entitled ‘Blood-letting,’ full of quiet humour.—‘The Simplification of our language,’ by P. J. Cosijn, is an amusing paper written in a pleasantly sarcastic vein. Dutch spelling is, within certain limits, so variable that to alter or improve is an embarrassing and hopeless project, certain uses of the article and personal pronouns are so absurd that he supposes the general public must just continue to decide what is correct since no other authority is likely to be deferred to.—W. C. van

Manen has a paper on the old Syraic MS. found by Mrs. Lewis, and discusses at some length the point concerning Matt. i. 16.—In ‘Juvenile offenders and the Dutch Law,’ Prof. van Hamel shows how much is left to be desired in the present state of the law, and gives suggestions for reforms.—An excellent article by Prof. W. van der Vlugt treats of Living Folk-law, by which he means the law that goes on existing of itself in old customs and observances, independent of Acts of Parliament. He adduces many most curious and interesting instances from the life of the peasantry. Naturally these customs are fast vanishing before the universal prevalence of abstract jurisprudence, though not before the peasants have had time to evolve proverbs expressive of their opinion of the change, such as ‘A Judge and a wisp of straw are soon made,’ ‘Offices are of God, officials belong to the Devil.’

THEOLOGISCHE TIJDSCHRIFT.—In the March number Dr. Klap’s account of Agobard of Lyons is continued; in this instalment we have his theology and his dealings with Scripture.—Dr. Eerdmans discusses the date of Zechariah i.-viii., and finds the internal evidence to point to the years preceding the taking of Babylon by Cyrus.—There are notices of a valuable kind by Dr. L. Knappert on several books dealing with early Teutonic and Icelandic faiths and manners.—In the May number Dr. van Manen occupies a good deal of space, giving short discussions of several questions connected with the Gospels, and reviewing some books. One of these is Jülichers’ Introduction to the New Testament, on which it is said that the scientific scholar of the New Testament must study its books not as a collection by themselves isolated from all other books, but as a part of early Christian literature, each book of the New Testament being viewed in its connection with that class of early Christian writings to which it belongs. This is how things are done in Holland; Prof. van Manen teaches not the New Testament but early Christian literature; and to this it will no doubt come in time in other countries also. Germany, however, is to the eyes of the Dutchman, far behind in this respect. Jülichers’ Introduction is on the old lines, and deals with no works but those contained in the canon.—Krüger’s History of Old-Christian literature, another of the same set of hand-books, published by Mohr, Freiburg, answers somewhat better to Dutch requirements. Here all the early Christian Epistles, those of Seneca, and those of Clement and Ignatius, as well as those of Paul, are treated in one chapter, while the second chapter deals with the class of Apocalypses, and the third with Histories, the Gospel of the

Hebrews and the Acts of Pilate finding a place in it as well as the Synoptics.—Dr. Rovers discusses the question whether Luke knew and used the works of Josephus, and comes to the conclusion that he did, and that both incidents in his narrative and his literary style supply evidence of the fact.

#### *D E N M A R K .*

YEAR-BOOK FOR NORTHERN ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY (Vol. IX., part 4, 1894).—An article by P. Hauberg on ‘The Scandinavian finds of Roman gold and silver coins older than 550 A.D.’ brings up to date the information on this subject. The finds fall into two main groups (1), those of silver denarii ranging from Nero to Septimius Severus, 119 in all, containing 5540 coins, and (2), those of golden solidi of both the Eastern and Western Empire from 395-518 A.D., numbering in all 486 coins. Full lists and tables give a clear view of the localities of the finds, and relative numbers of the coins of the different emperors. Of the first group Gothland has 3748 of the total number, as might be expected of this Carthage of the north, and the leading Emperors are Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. In the second group Bornholm and Oland show the largest finds of both Western and Eastern coins, while Gothland is only rich in those of the Eastern Empire. The break between the periods is attributed by the author to the wars between the Romans and Germans, and the appearance of the solidi to the sums paid by the former to buy off the barbarians.—‘Remains of wooden buildings from the early Middle Ages in Denmark,’ by Henry Petersen, is mainly directed to the consideration of the original wooden churches, of which one or two fragments have lately come to light. A coloured plate is given of one of these, a plank-end in the wall of Hörning Church, showing an interlaced serpent pattern, which the writer is inclined to date as older than 1000 A.D.—S. B. Löffler also contributes a short paper on the ‘Churches of Lillehedinge and Karise,’ pointing out certain peculiarities which he thinks marks them out as places of refuge.—(Vol. X., Part 1).—‘Fortified Churches in Denmark from the early Middle Ages,’ by Otto Blom, combats an idea that has been raised with regard to many churches dating from about 1150 to 1250, that they were planned not only as places of worship but as places of defence in time of war. After an interesting account of the methods of attacking and defending mediæval fortifications, the writer goes over representative specimens of the various churches in question, and shows how unsuitable for military purposes they would have

been. They could not be defended at all in many cases, they could not have been provisioned, and they had no conveniences for the besieged. Besides, the period of their erection was the one when Denmark was safest from both external and internal foes. The arguments are strong, but no doubt upholders of the theory will have something to say to them.—Hans Olrik's article on 'Two copies of a Danish Royal Charter of 1230,' might easily have been very much shorter and less painfully minute. The charter is in favour of the monks of Clairvaux, one of the copies being issued by Valdemar II., and bearing his seal, while the seal of the other is apparently that of his son, Valdemar III., who was for some time King along with his father. Excellent facsimiles of the charters and drawings of the seals accompany the article.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

*The Divine Life in the Church* (Scottish Church Society Conferences, Second Series). 2 vols. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. 1895.

In these two volumes the Scottish Church Society, notwithstanding the adverse but not always relevant criticism which has been bestowed upon it in a variety of quarters, continues to give an account of itself and to set forth the views entertained by its members on various ecclesiastical topics, and the end for which the Society exists and is trying to achieve. There is not a little that is refreshing in the contents of the volumes, and whether the authors manage to convince their readers or not, what they have to say will at least be read with attention. The first volume is almost wholly taken up with a treatise on the sacrament of Baptism. The author is Dr. John Macleod, the minister of Govan, and he there sets forth his views which are supposed to be highly 'sacramentalian,' but which, so far as we can make out, he holds to be the true doctrine of the Presbyterian Church on the doctrine in question. Whether what he here teaches is in perfect accord with the standards of the Church of Scotland, we do not, of course, presume to judge. His views, whether right or wrong, are certainly set forth with great force and clearness, and with that perfect persuasion which is sure to enlist a sympathetic, if not favourable, perusal. Other subjects treated of in the same volume are more or less akin to Dr. Macleod's, but with the difference that they are less of a speculative and more of a practical character. Three of the papers are on the instruction to be given to catechumens before and after first communion, and two on the obligations of sponsors. The contents of the second volume are more varied. Here we have papers on The Celtic Inheritance of the Scottish Church; on Neglected Provisions and Remediable Defects in the Presbyterian Organisation; on the Training of Candidates for the Holy Ministry; on Lay Work in the Church; on the Duty of the Church towards different Classes of Society; on the Attitude of the Church towards the Leading Phases of Modern Thought; on Church Music and Choirs and Church Fabrics. The papers are pervaded by a feeling of great seriousness and practical earnestness. Their authors are apparently all men well acquainted with their subjects, and though, from a literary point of view, the quality of their papers vary considerably, they are for the most part solid and informing. Among the laity, Dr. Almond's short paper on Church Music and Choirs will probably meet with a hearty approval. Dr. Rowand Anderson's contribution deserves the attention of church builders. Mr. M'Gregor's paper on the Celtic Church shows abundance of reading. He finds fault with the use of the designation 'Celtic' for the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles, and seems to have made the discovery that St. Martin of Tours was the 'uncle' of St. Ninian, and that St. Patrick was his 'grand-uncle.' One would like very much to see how these two points are made out. Two papers on the Attitude of the Church towards Modern Criticism and the Bible, by Professors Flint and Robertson, will, as need hardly be said, repay perusal.

*Aspects of Judaism*: Being Sixteen Sermons by ISRAEL ABRAHAMS and CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

These sixteen sermons have, with three exceptions, been addressed by their authors to Jewish congregations. Messrs. Abraham and Montefiore are not priests but laymen, and have from time to time been permitted by Jewish custom or courtesy to occupy the pulpit in several synagogues. The sermons are valuable as showing the kind of teaching which is there given, and as indicating to some extent the position held by at least some Jews in the theological world. They are equally divided between the two authors ; the first eight being by Mr. Abrahams and the second by Mr. Montefiore. The tendency in them all is thoroughly practical. All of them are pervaded by a devout and reverent spirit and set forth a high ethical ideal. Mr. Montefiore's sermons are distinguished by a philosophical or speculative cast of thought. The topics he deals with are such as 'The Omnipresence of God,' 'Holiness,' 'Religious Liberty,' 'Religion and Morality,' and 'The Consciousness of Judaism.' Mr. Abrahams, on the other hand, deal more with the thoughts and actions of everyday life, and are pervaded by a certain sweetness of sentiment. Passages and stories from the Talmud are often used with great effect. Here and there Mr. Abrahams shows that he is an acute observer of human nature, and that he can infuse a light and pleasant irony into his words, and often a genial humour. The subject of one of his sermons is Angels. After saying that no angels in the Bible have assumed the female form, he goes on to add—'Woman's angelic mission was to be unobtrusive, ministering to those that suffer. She needs no other cloak than her womanliness, no other wings than her swift sensitiveness, her quick sympathy. When Abraham was about to slay Isaac, the angels in the legend wept sorrowful tears, which fell on Isaac's neck, hardening it and rendering it innocuous to the blow. How often since have woman's tears softened the strokes directed against the hearts of those they love, healing the wounds that they could not prevent!' Further on he asks, 'Has it ever struck you how chary the Angels were of their words?' and then says, 'The Angels of the Bible did many wonderful things, but they had very little to say. They mostly speak in monosyllables, they rarely utter two sentences together ; and when they have done their work, they go without waiting for thanks. Imagine a would-be human Angel setting about, say, the rescue of Hagar from the wickedness of to-day. He would call a public meeting, elect himself chairman of a committee of ways and means ; he would bore every one to death with eloquent speeches, and he would send some one else to the spot, just too late to save her, whereupon he would receive a hearty vote of thanks for his prompt philanthropy. We carry this policy into our prayers at this season of the year, when the day of Atonement is near at hand. We call public meetings in the synagogues ; lengthily and lustily we confess in words that we are sinners and expect I know not what from our condescension.' Indications occur throughout the volume that the authors are not strangers to the criticisms which have been directed against the Old Testament. In the last sermon Mr. Montefiore gives a somewhat peculiar rendering to the words of Abraham's call.

*The Presbyterian Church: Its Worship, Functions, and Ministerial Orders.* By the Rev. ALEXANDER WRIGHT,

M.A. Edinburgh and London : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1895.

The movement initiated some years ago for the improvement of the order of public worship in Scotland continues to bear fruit, and has already given rise to the publication of a considerable body of literature, in some cases of a controversial character, but for the most part historical. Not so long ago we had a bulky volume by the Rev. Mr. M'Crie, treating of the history of public worship in Presbyterian Scotland, and now we have Mr. Wright's smaller, but useful volume, treating of the same subject. This work, Mr. Wright informs us, has been undertaken for the several purposes of promoting improvement in the ritual of the various branches of the Presbyterian Church, of showing that such improvements are in accord with the use and wont of the Reformed Church of Scotland, of describing the various functions and offices as prescribed in the 'Directory for the Public Worship of God,' agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and of indicating both the Scriptural regularity and validity of Presbyterian Orders. The work is, as need scarcely be said, for the most part, historical. Mr. Wright looks upon the years between 1560 and 1650 as the best period in Scottish Presbyterian ritual, and thinks that the various churches cannot do better than go back to the practices of that period and make them the starting points for any developments that may be deemed necessary for the improvement of modern practices. There can be no doubt that a good deal may be said in favour of his contention, and probably most Scottish ministers, excepting, of course, those who are strong in their liking for the English Book of Common Prayer, will agree with him. Most readers, more especially if they entertain the common belief that what is usually regarded as the Presbyterian Order of Public Worship is genuinely Scottish, will find Mr. Wright's pages instructive. As those who are acquainted with the subject know, he has little difficulty in showing that the original Presbyterian mode of public worship was greatly interfered with by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and that much of its barrenness and unattractiveness was due to them. Mr. Wright gives the history of public worship since the earliest days of the Reformation down to the present, noting all the changes which have occurred and all the controversies which have arisen, as, for instance, those concerning the 'Nocent Ceremonies,' The Lifters, and the controversy, if so it may be called, about Laud's Liturgy. Now and again he allows the order of public worship in Scotland to be described by eye-witnesses. Altogether he has put together a very instructive and useful volume—one which will do much to dissipate prevalent errors, and to promote the object he has in view.

*Mental Development in the Child and the Race—Methods and Processes.* By JAMES MARK BALDWIN, M.A., Ph.D. New York and London : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Those who have read Professor Baldwin's occasional papers in some of our English periodicals devoted to biological and psychological research, and especially those who are also more or less familiar with American journals of the same nature—to which, naturally, most of his essays and articles have been contributed—will be very glad to have put before them now, in this compact and methodical form, the results of those interesting researches and experiments in which he has been engaged for some years, and the inferences and deductions from them already published in those

articles, as also his acute and incisive criticisms of current biological and psychological systems or theories with which his papers were often flavoured. This substantial volume is not, however, a mere collection and reprint. It is for the most part an original work, the fruit of a more prolonged and careful weighing of the matters that have been engaging his attention. In their magazine form his monographs courted a more minute and detailed criticism from specialists than perhaps they would otherwise have received. Professor Baldwin has welcomed, and in the present work taken advantage of, such criticism. He has here and there supplemented what was defective or seemingly obscure in his earlier expositions, and obviated objections taken to this point or that by a fuller statement, or has defended his views against these objections. But the present work is only a part of a greater whole. The sub-title, *Methods and Processes*, makes that clear from the first. And in the preface the author outlines the work in its completed form, and tells us that the second part of it—to appear under the rubric 'Interpretations'—is well under way. This will be welcome news, for what is here given more than justifies the hope that we shall have in the completed treatise a solid and valuable contribution to psychological science. Professor Baldwin starts from the principle, so neatly stated by Professor Flint, that 'nothing in the world is intelligible apart from its history, and man must be of all things the least so, because he is of all things the most complex, variable, and richly endowed.' Our author's object here is to discover, if possible, how man has come to be so, and he has set himself, therefore, to trace the history of the development or the evolution of man's varied endowments and activities. He is fully aware of the delicacy and difficulty of his task. He knows well that the study of the embryo, the infant, the child, the youth of to-day, gives in itself no royal road to the knowledge he is here in search of. Every infant now comes into the world with an inheritance which was lacking to the first of the race, and this has to be discounted or resolved back through its increments, if we would get again to the fountain-head. Even the first of the race had himself a long history of evolution behind him. But the difficulty of the task, while duly considered by biologists, does not drive them to despair. It only teaches the wiser among them to proceed with caution, and weigh well both the methods of inquiry to be adopted, and the results arrived at. Professor Baldwin is cautious almost to a fault. While carefully conducting his experiments with a view to tracing the genesis of action and thought, of feeling and sentiment, of reason and will, in infant and child-life, he has ever present to his mind the complex conditions of the problem he is seeking to solve. But the caution he exercises, and the wise discretion he shows in his inductions from the facts observed, give his readers a large measure of confidence in following him here, and he has the gift of making his experiments perfectly clear to us, and expressing himself always in a lucid and interesting manner. Specially interesting, we think, are the chapters dealing with the origin and development of such mental phenomena as memory, imagination, thought, volition, and attention. But the whole work is characterised by the same love of detail and thoroughness, and scientific accuracy, and will well reward a careful study, and awake an eager desire to possess the forthcoming volume, the sequel and crown of this. We must not omit to mention that this volume is furnished with a very helpful index, an appendix noting new experiments or observations on children, not noted in his occasional papers, and another giving Colonel Mallevy's remarks on right and left-handedness from his report on Sign Language among North American Indians.

*Dualism and Monism and other Essays.* By JOHN VEITCH, M.A., LL.D. With an Introduction by R. M. WENLEY, D.Sc. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons. 1895.

In addition to the introduction, this volume contains three essays. The first on 'Dualism and Monism' takes the form of a review and criticism of M. Dauriac's *Croyance et Réalité*, and has for its object not so much the repudiation of M. Dauriac's views, though an attempt at this is made, as to set forth the views which the author himself held on these important philosophical problems. The second essay is apparently the opening chapter of more extended work on the philosophy of history, and is occupied for the most part with a criticism of the Hegelian doctrine—a doctrine with which, as need hardly be said, Professor Veitch had but the very slightest sympathy. The remaining essay appeared some time ago in a volume entitled *Wordsworthiana*, edited by Professor Knight, under the title of 'The Theism of Wordsworth,' when it was at once regarded as a very able piece of exposition. The freshest part of the volume, and that probably which will attract the most attention at the present moment, is the introduction contributed by Dr. Wenley. In this, besides giving a succinct sketch of the late Professor's life, he endeavours to fix his place in the history of philosophy, and accounts for that singular combination there was in him of the philosophic and poetic. To the personal character of the late Professor, Dr. Wenley pays a fine tribute, and sums up what he has to say of him in the following sentences :—'Contemplative rather than speculative, emotional rather than exclusively intellectual, yet of immense moral strength and of a corresponding intensity in righteous indignation, the man's greatness lay in his entire humanity, and not in the special predominance of any one acquirement. Spiritual intuition was the central fire. And with the quenching of this there passed a personality who, in philosophy, affected youthful minds no more than indirectly, but who gained the higher meed of leaving an indelible impression on the characters of those with whom he was brought into close contact, by the unswerving manliness with which he battled, as he found opportunity, for all that was pure and elevating and of good report.'

*Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education.* By S. S. LAURIE, A.M., LL.D., Professor of the Institutes and History of Education in the University of Edinburgh. London and New York : Longmans, Green & Co. 1895.

Professor Laurie has here done the teaching profession a considerable service, and furnished those who take an interest in the history and science of education with a work which can hardly fail to win their approval as being eminently instructive and suggestive. Such works in this country are extremely rare. In Germany there is almost a superabundance of them, but although both here and in America works on education, some of them of the highest value, are common, among them so far as our present memory goes we are unable to recall anything comparable in scope and aim with the volume now before us.\* It is not a *History of Education*. The author does not desire it to be regarded as such. It is simply an *Historical Survey*. We could almost wish that Professor Laurie had been more ambitious in his aim and made the work a *history*. It may be, however, that the time for that has still to come, and that what he has now

issued is intended to pave the way for a more detailed and exhaustive work. We hope that it is ; for something of the sort, written by one so well furnished for the task as Prof. Laurie, has a place in our literature waiting for it. Meantime what he has now published may be regarded as an admirable introduction to the history of Pre-Christian Education. That, we should say, is its real character. It is so condensed and leaves so many points for elaboration, that one has the feeling in reading it that it contains in many places only an epitome of what the author has to say, or of what might be said in elucidation of the topic in hand. By education Prof. Laurie, so far as the purposes of his present volume is concerned, understands 'the means which a nation, with more or less consciousness, takes for bringing up its citizens to maintain the tradition of national character, and for promoting the welfare of the whole as an organised ethical community.' Men in a savage state he accordingly passes by. That they undergo training, as for instance, in the use of arms, he admits, but this he maintains is not education except in a narrow technical sense. Real education begins, he holds, 'only when the *ideas* of bodily vigour, of personal bravery, of strength, beauty, or morality become desired for themselves, or as the necessary conditions of political life.' Hence his Historical Survey includes only the more or less civilised nations of the world, and treats successively of education among the Hamitic races, the Semitic, the Turanian, and the Aryan or Indo-European. In the evolution of the education he distinguishes three principal stages. 'First of all,' he says, 'we have the unpremeditated education of national character and institutions, and of instructive ideals of personal and community life in contact with specific external conditions, and moulded or being moulded by them.' In the second, the education of the citizen becomes a matter of public concern, when means often inadequate, are taken by individuals or societies within the State for handing down the national tradition by the agency of the family and the school, and by public institutions and ceremonials, but without any systematised purpose. In the third stage education passes out of the hands of irregular agencies, and from being merely public and voluntary becomes a political or State interest. In this last there is a more or less conscious ideal of national life which determines the organisation of educational agencies, and reduces them to an elaborate system designed to meet the wants of the citizen at every age from infancy to manhood. The only nations in Pre-Christian times which reached this last stage, were, as Prof. Laurie points out, the Chinese and the Doric Greeks, as represented by the Spartans. Among the Hamitic races the Egyptians are singled out for treatment, and very instructive is the way in which our author handles his subject. While not accepting all that has recently been said about the Egyptians, he is nevertheless able to give a remarkably interesting account of the methods of education among them. Considerable emphasis is laid on the part which the art of writing was made to play, and the fact that it was extensively used and widely taught in Egypt is not forgotten by our author when he comes to speak of education among the Hebrews, the chapters on which are deserving of special attention by theologians as well as by educationalists. It would take us too far, however, to indicate even a hundredth part of the vast mass of information which is here brought together. All we can do here is to express our admiration for the volume, and the hope that it will be as extensively read as a work of its unquestionably high merits deserves.

*Harvard College by an Oxonian.* By GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL,  
D.C.L. New York and London : Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Dr. Birkbeck Hill seems to have been entirely captivated by the advantages and amenities of Harvard as a seat of learning, and writes of it with an enthusiasm which to those who are acquainted only with the Universities of the Old World will be quite unexpected. His admiration, however, is not altogether untempered. Though here and there he contrasts his own University somewhat unfavourably with the great American seat of learning, there are some things in which he admits that the superiority lies with Oxford, and on which the trans-Atlantic University has much to learn from the older institutions on this side of the world. If there is more freedom and greater effort to keep abreast of the times and to adapt itself with the changing requirements of the age at Harvard, there is, on the other hand, less of that social life and culture which are to be found in Oxford or Cambridge. Dr. Hill's aim, however, in the volume before us has not been merely to set down his 'impressions' of Harvard, but to give an account of its origin and development. This he has done in a series of chapters which, besides being full of information that cannot fail to be attractive to university men on this side of the Atlantic, have a sort of charm about them which will make them pleasant as well as instructive reading for all classes. They are running over with anecdote and bring the reader into contact with most of the great men of the United States, and recall not a few of the most striking events in the early history of the Union. One of the points which is dwelt upon with emphasis and held up for imitation in this country is the affection in which the sons of Harvard have always held their *Alma Mater* and the munificent liberality with which they have supported and endowed her. The bequests which are continually reaching her are something remarkable, and in striking contrast with the comparatively small sums devoted to similar objects by private benefactors in this country. The reason of this Dr. Hill more than hints is to be found in the fact that while men here try to perpetuate their name by founding a family, men in the United States try the much surer plan of connecting their names with a University. 'In England,' he says, 'rich men found families ; in America they found universities, or enlarge them.' The rule, however, he admits is not without exceptions. 'There are other Americans,' he says, 'who, like the wretch Jay Gould, heap up riches for riches sake ; who living give nothing, and dying leave nothing to any great and noble object. They pass away without showing that for one single moment they had been touched by a generous thought. "They die, and make no sign." The affectionate regard in which Cambridge, and more particularly Emanuel College, is held at Harvard is also dwelt upon. For the rest Dr. Hill enters minutely into the details of University life as it is at Harvard, and gives an account of its foundations, chairs, clubs, government, amusements, traditions and regulations. As might be expected, one is never allowed to forget that the book is written by an Oxonian. Oxford as it was, or is, is continually referred to, and the stranger to both, while reading about the younger institution across the Atlantic, will learn much, though not so much, about the older institutions to which it still looks with reverence.

*Julian, Philosopher and Emperor, and the Last Struggle of Paganism against Christianity.* By ALICE GARDNER.  
'Heroes of the Nations' Series. G. P. Putnam's Sons,  
New York and London. 1895.

With the inclusion of Julian among the heroes of the nations, some may be disposed to quarrel. Not a few may be disposed to ask whether he was a hero at all ; and if he was, of what nation was he the hero ? Something of this sort seems to have been the feeling of Miss Gardner when she wrote in her preface, ' The responsibility of including Julian among the " Heroes of the Nations " rests with the editors of this series ; ' but be that as it may, and whether Julian deserves to be reckoned among national heroes or not, we have here what may fairly be spoken of as an excellent monograph on that remarkable man. Julian had undoubtedly great intentions, and so far as it is possible to judge; was apparently sincere both in respect to his convictions and in his desires to carry them out. In his own way, if fate had permitted, he would, there is little reason to doubt, have been heroic. To the consideration of the many questions Julian's life involves Miss Gardner has evidently brought an unprejudiced mind. That he has always proved to her a fascinating figure, she admits ; but at the same time she is not overpowered by his fascination, and writes of him in a very judicial spirit. Her examination of his motives shows power of keen analysis, and her appreciation of the circumstances by which he was surrounded proves that she has a firm grasp of the period. The story of his life is full of incident, and is narrated by Miss Gardner clearly and with no attempt at eloquence beyond that of facts clothed in plain sensible English. Miss Gardner, however, does not confine herself merely to the narration of the story of his life : she enters largely into his philosophical and religious views, explains them at length, tries to account for them, and criticises them with considerable acuteness. That he was not without a large share of vanity is admitted, as well as that in his last campaign he did not prove himself a great general. Justice is done to his energetic efforts to correct abuses and to improve the condition of the people. Miss Gardner, however, is not certain that his edict concerning teachers and teaching was altogether anti-Christian. She is disposed to regard it as having a wider scope, and as aimed at the Pagan as well as at the Christian schools. The saying attributed to Julian as he fell mortally wounded, Miss Gardner sets down as mythical. The portions of the volume which will be read with the greatest interest are those which deal with Julian's philosophy and religious policy, and they will certainly well repay perusal. Whether Julian was a hero or not, there can be no doubt that the present volume is a notable addition to the series in which it appears.

*Life and Letters of John Cairns, D.D., LL.D.* By ALEXANDER R. MACEWEN, D.D. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1895.

Though somewhat voluminous, this biography has been compiled with great skill. The paragraphs contributed by Dr. MacEwen are brightly written. As a rule they summarise the contents of the letters which follow them, and set out the main incidents in the career of Principal Cairns with distinctness. The work is of considerable importance, and has a much more than merely biographical or denominational value. While strongly attached to his own church, Dr. Cairns was a genuine scholar, a profound thinker, a man of wide sympathies, respected and admired quite as much for his unselfish and noble character as for his attainments, and one whose influence made itself felt far beyond the limits of the ecclesiastical circle in which he was a principal figure. For many years he was known for the most part simply as the minister of Golden Square United Presbyterian Church, Berwick ; but even while there, when he could be induced to step out from his privacy and take part in public or literary work,

he proved himself to be a power in Scotland, and one that had to be reckoned with in almost every movement that affected the religious or philosophical thought of the country. His early struggles are admirably told by Dr. MacEwen. His determination to make himself a scholar was almost fierce, and one of the pleasantest parts of his biographer's volume is that in which the difficulties he had to encounter and the way in which he overcame them are narrated. Dr. MacEwen does no more than justice to the old dominie of Cockburnspath, to whom Cairns owed his first inspiration. M'Gregor, for that was his name, was an excellent sample of a type of schoolmasters now almost passed away, wonderfully learned, somewhat eccentric, quick to discern ability in his pupils, and always fostering it in the most zealous and unselfish way. When Cairns came under his influence, he had already sent six or eight students direct to the Universities, where they more than held their own with town-bred undergraduates, and it is more than possible that but for his assistance, Cairns would never have made the appearance he did either at the University or in after life. Of Cairns' own career at College, Dr. MacEwen has given a very full account, but much more space than can here be occupied would be required to go over the various points of interest started in his volume. We can only add that for the religious history of Scotland during the last thirty or forty years, the work is of first-rate importance, that the picture it gives of Dr. Cairns is full and complete, and that the letters, of which there is a vast number, are always interesting, and often of great value, both as indicating the writer's attitude towards men, books, and controversies, and for the descriptions they contain of the individuals he met with and the places he saw.

*Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde.* By ARCHIBALD FORBES. ('Men of Action' Series). London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

This addition to Messrs. Macmillan's 'Men of Action' series will be welcomed both on account of its subject and the simple and graphic manner in which it is written. Few soldiers have had so large a hold upon the affections of the people and few have had so remarkable a career, or done more conspicuous service to the State. Blameless in his character, simple in his tastes, with a high ideal of duty, thoroughly unselfish, and caring only for the interests of his Queen and country, among the troops who knew him best, he was little short of idolised, and many are the stories they have to tell of the way in which he shared their privations and led them on to victory. In the preparation of this brief account of him Mr. Forbes has found a congenial subject. That he has written an attractive narrative need hardly be said. He carries the interest and sympathies of the reader along with him as he narrates the fortunes of one of the best and most skilful of modern commanders. His narrative is bright and picturesque, and few who begin the perusal of the volume will lay it down before they have read it through. Among the many excellent volumes of the series to which it belongs it can scarcely fail to be reckoned one of the best.

*Studies of Men.* By GEORGE W. SMALLEY. London : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

For the most part these 'Studies' have already appeared in the columns of the *New York Tribune*. The men studied are most of the leading char-

acters of the times or those who recently were. One thing that will strike most readers of the volume is that it will be searched in vain for any study of Mr. Gladstone. Much is said about him, in fact it is difficult to open the volume without meeting with his name or with some reference to him ; but in all its four hundred pages no 'study' of him will be found. All the same the volume is acceptable. It contains sketches of the men about whom the public never seems to tire of hearing. Among them are Cardinal Newman, Lord Tennyson, Professor Tyndale, Mr. Froude, and Dr. Jowett, while among politicians we have Lord Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Balfour, Lord Randolph Churchhill, and Lord Granville. Lord Salisbury is not included in the series, but among the rest are the late Duke of Devonshire, Mr. W. W. Phelps, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, President Carnot, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mr. Jno. Walter, Mr. Winthorp, Lord Bowen, and the Emperor of Germany. The most elaborate sketch in the volume bears the title, a 'Visit to Prince Bismarck,' and originally appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*. Mr. Smalley has many remarks to make about the work and influence of the men he sketches, with which the reader may and may not agree. Many of them are founded on personal acquaintance, while others of them reflect the current opinion. That the 'Studies' are popularly and attractively written we need hardly say. They are full of anecdote, are always lively, and though here and there a little discursive, they are, if not exactly brilliant, always graphic and written in a genial and appreciative, though not uncritical spirit.

*A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.* Edited by  
Mr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. *Fanged-Fee.* (Vol. IV.) By  
HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon. Oxford : at the  
Clarendon Press. 1895.

This is the first quarterly issue of this great work for the present year. The editor of it is Mr Bradley. It contains 879 main words, 179 combinations explained under them, and 187 subordinate words, or a total of 1263. Two hundred and twenty or nearly twenty-five per cent. of the main words are marked obsolete. Only twenty-seven or three per cent. of them are foreign or not fully naturalised. Scientific terms and other words of recent formation are almost entirely absent, while a large proportion of the words treated have a long history, having come down from the Old English period, or being such as were introduced into the language from the French before the fourteenth century. The development of senses in many of these words is of great interest, and attention is called to the articles under *fantastic*, *fantasy*, *farm*, *fascinate*, *fashion*, *fault*, *favour*, and other words. As usual, the etymologies show improvements on those of preceding dictionaries. That of the legal term *fee*, is an excellent example of what Dr. Murray and Mr. Bradley are doing in this department. Scottish words are fairly numerous. Among them we notice *fank*, *fankle*, *fard*, *faird*, *farl*, *farouchie*, *farrand*, *farrow*, *fary*, *fas*, *fash*, *fashionous*, *fath*, *faugh*, *fax*, *fay*, *feal*, *fagart*, *feckless*, *feckly*. So far, indeed, the work promises to be a Scottish as well as an English Dictionary.

*The Evolution of Industry.* By HENRY DYER, C.E., M.A., D.Sc. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Professor Dyer here deals with a subject which is continually forcing itself more and more upon public attention, and is rapidly becoming, if it has not already become, as Goethe predicted it would, the main problem

of the day. Whether it has or has not, it certainly deserves the most careful consideration of all who are at all interested in the development of Society or even in the permanence of the present social order and its legitimate development. Properly speaking, indeed, the subject is of universal interest, and cannot be too carefully or too widely considered. Whether Professor Dyer's volume will contribute towards the right solution of the problems involved, we cannot of course venture to say. We have no hesitation in saying, however, that what he has said is fairly well calculated to do so. Accepting Hitze's statement that the problem of the day is to find a social organisation corresponding to the modern conditions of production, as the social organization of the Middle Ages corresponded with the simple conditions of production then existing, he endeavours to indicate the nature of what that solution must be. Practically, so far as we can make out, the solution suggested is a return to the principles of the Middle Ages adapted to the altered conditions of modern life. That, of course, is involved in the title Dr. Dyer has chosen for his volume, and is the idea involved in most writings of a similar nature. The difficulty, however, is not in the principles themselves, but in their adaptation. Here the reformer is met with complications of the most stubborn and perplexing kind. Professor Dyer is fully alive to their character, and discusses a number of the more important among them in a calm and judicial spirit. The greater part of his volume, however, is taken up with tracing the way in which the industrial problem has arrived at its present stage. His history, if history we may call it, of this evolution is necessarily brief, but he has seized upon the most salient points and set them out with admirable clearness. To those unacquainted, or but slightly acquainted, with the topics, the chapters in which he treats of Merchant and Craft Guilds, Individualism, Co-operation, and Industrial Training, will prove informing reading. Like most Socialists of whatever grade, and like many who lay no claim to be Socialists, Dr. Dyer has no sympathy with the modern tendency to the formation of huge monopolies. Their evils are pointed out and denounced. As an educationist of some standing and authority, the author's views on industrial training are deserving of respectful consideration. The ethical tone pervading the volume is healthy. Here and there some very admirable doctrines are dropped; and it is scarcely possible to read what the author has to say without rising from it with wider and more hopeful views as to the future of the world.

*Aspects of the Social Problem.* By various Writers. Edited by  
BERNARD BOSANQUET. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

The majority of the papers here put together have appeared in print before. Their publication in their present form, however, may be commended. The writers are all more or less experts in social problems, and write with full knowledge gained by actual observation. Most of the papers deal with the social question as it presents itself in London. That, however, is no objection. London is an immense field, and there, if anywhere, the various developments of social life make themselves conspicuous, and may be studied to advantage. The 'aspects' dealt with are numerous. The editor of the series leads off with two well considered lectures on the Duties of Citizenship, in which he places in sharp contrast the life of an ancient city with that of a large manufacturing town in the present, and shows how the conditions are different and the 'interests' indefinitely multiplied. It is scarcely accurate, however, to say that the 'slaves were to the Greeks what machinery, kept in its place, might be to

us.' They did a number of things which machinery does not and probably never will do, and which are now being done by modern citizens. Other contributions to the series by the editor are 'Character in its bearing on Social Causation,' 'Socialism and Natural Selection,' 'The Principle of Private Property,' and 'The Reality of the General Will.' Among the other papers may be noticed those from the pen of Mr. Dendy. All of them are exceedingly readable and informing. His acquaintance with the life of the London poor is remarkably intimate. 'Old Pensioners' is full of pathos, and in its way is the gem of the volume. Very sensible are his remarks on the method and meaning of true charity, and may be commended to all who believe they have a mission 'to do good.' Mr. Loch has some judicious remarks on statistics, and deals elaborately with pauperism and old age pensions as well as with some controverted points in the administration of the Poor Law. The volume deserves to be read widely, both for the information it contains and for its suggestiveness. It is calculated to do much towards solving what is admitted on all hands to be one of the problems of the day.

*Social Evolution.* By BENJAMIN KIDD. (Twelfth Thousand).  
London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Mr. Kidd's volume has been so widely read and so frequently criticised that its re-issue would not call for any remarks here were it not that it appears now in an altered form and at a less price. It is now placed within the reach of all who care to read it, and these must still, we imagine, be extremely numerous. No work of its kind has in recent times found so large a public. Its success indeed has been phenomenal. Within little more than a year it has been reprinted, as we gather from the Publisher's note, no fewer than ten times, and as we learn from the title page it is now in its twelfth thousand. The only differences between this new and cheaper edition and the earliest, excepting of course the size and price, are that we have here a brief preface pointing out the immense revolution which has taken place in consequence of the application of the doctrines of evolutionary science in all departments of thought and knowledge and the grave problems which are gradually emerging and the difficulties and dangers with which their solution may possibly be attended, and that a useful index has been added. The printing is excellent.

*The Great Dominion : Studies of Canada.* By GEORGE R.  
PARKIN, M.A. Maps. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

These 'Studies' first appeared as letters in the *Times*. Since then they have undergone very careful revision, and have been to some extent enlarged. They are the results of a couple of lengthened visits to Canada made for the purpose of ascertaining as far as possible what the resources, condition, and prospects of the country really are. In the prosecution of his task, Mr. Parkin has not relied upon his own impressions alone ; he has had the assistance of some of the most competent authorities in the country, and many of his statements have been checked by them. As compared with Mr. Goldwin Smith's comparatively recent volume, Mr. Parkin's is on almost entirely different lines. Here the politics of the country are but slightly touched upon. The aim, as already indicated, is rather to give an account of its material resources and to furnish intending emigrants with reliable information. Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the volume is its candour. Mr. Parkin is quite as much alive to

the drawbacks of the different provinces as to the advantages they present, and does not scruple to set them out distinctly. Everywhere he manifests an earnest desire to get at the truth, and to present it to his readers. That Canada has an immense reserve of material resources, and affords an immense field for a large and industrious population, is put beyond doubt, and no one desiring to settle there need, with Mr. Parkin's volume in his hand, labour under any mistake as to where he ought or ought not to go. From beginning to end the volume is eminently readable and packed full of valuable and reliable information. The chapters descriptive of the various sections of the Dominion, together with those on the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the coal and mineral resources, are particularly deserving of attention, as well from an imperial as from an emigrant's point of view. Not less so are those on Trade, Labour, and Education. The volume is well provided with maps, and ought from its intrinsic merits to obtain a very wide circulation both among the working classes and among those who wish to be informed respecting the value and prospects of this great dependency of the British Crown.

*Tayside Songs and other Verses.* By ROBERT FORD. Paisley and London : Alex. Gardner. 1895.

Mr. Ford's 'Tayside Songs' have always the merit of being fluent, harmonious and informed with considerable spirit. For the most part they are happy expressions of cheerful memories or pleasant emotions. Now and then they assume the ballad form and one feels in them much of the lilt and animation which distinguish the work of the ballad makers of old. That there is much poetry either in the songs or the ballads we cannot say. Here and there, however, there is a genuine touch of the lyric feeling. The subjects chosen are for the most part lowly and the thoughts and feelings expressed are such as will find a responsive chord in the hearts of many. Mr. Ford is as a rule more successful with his Scottish poems than when he attempts to write in the less poetic English. His Scotch naturally lends itself to poetic numbers, and his skill in its use is commendable.

*The Natural History of Aquatic Insects.* By Professor L. C. MIALL, F.R.S. Illustrated by A. R. HAMMOND, F.L.S. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

In this excellent little volume Professor Miall, besides seeking to revive an interest in the works and writings of some of the old masters in Natural History, such, for instance, as Swammerdam, Reaumur, and De Geer, aims at inducing young naturalists to devote themselves to the study of nature's works as manifestations of life, rather than to classification and the study of distribution. These latter are certainly necessary, and have a certain charm. With a good memory and a very moderate ability for detecting likenesses and difference expertness in them is, moreover, easily attainable. Science, however, is more than classification, and Natural History is something more than a mere list of names. The real student of Natural History is above all things a student of life, its structures and developments, and the principles and laws by which they are controlled and on which they are formed. And until he has some knowledge of these he can scarcely be said to have any acquaintance with the real subject of his study. In reminding young naturalists of this, and in seeking to direct their attention to it, Professor Miall is doing them an important service. The line of study to which he specially directs their attention is

one that has many advantages. His treatment of it in the lectures before us is excellent. He writes clearly, simply, and with abundant knowledge and equal caution. His introductory chapter is one that may be enjoyed by those who are not naturalists. Not a few will be glad to meet with the extracts from Réaumur and Lyonnet. Professor Miall's own descriptions leave nothing to be desired in the way of perspicacity. The illustrations form a valuable feature of the book, and are deserving of great praise.

*The Statesman's Year Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the year 1895.* Edited by J. SCOTT KELTIE, with the assistance of I. P. RENWICK, M.A., LL.B. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Mr. Keltie's valuable Annual has reached its forty-second year, and as usual bears the marks of the most careful and painstaking editing. Every page shows that nothing has been left undone to make the revision as accurate as possible and to bring the statistics and information up to date. Comparison with 1894 shows how thoroughly the work of revision and preparation has been done, and one can only marvel at the skill which marshals in so orderly a way and makes so accessible and clear the vast amount of information which is here brought together from so many different sources. The *Year Book* indeed is a model of arrangement and condensation and has long since become an institution. The Introductory Tables this year are headed, 'The Value of Silver,' 'The Wheat Crops of the World,' 'The Navies of the World,' 'The World's Shipping,' 'The Railways of Europe,' 'The British Empire.' The first shows for the last thirty-seven years the yearly average price of silver per standard ounce, the nominal value of the silver coined in England, the value of the exports of silver to the East, and of the imports into England of bar and coined silver, together with other informations of a kindred nature. In the last there is exhibited at one view the area, population, revenue, expenditure, debt, imports, exports, shipping, etc., of the various parts of the British Empire for the year 1893-94. The world's wheat crop in 1894 is believed to have exceeded that of 1893 by over a million and a half bushels.

#### F I C T I O N .

Mr. W. Earl Hodgson's *Haunted by Posterity* (A. and C. Black) moves about in various classes of society, and has its scene partly in London and partly in the Highlands. The story chiefly concerns the fortunes of Lady Emily Charlton and George Wayne. A certain Californian is introduced, who plays a considerable part in determining the fortunes of Lady Emily and Wayne, and affords an opportunity for writing some of the best chapters in story. The plot is slight ; the dialogues are clever and smart, but here and there a little spun out. An ancestral ghost plays a very important part, and one of the chief interests in the plot is occasioned by the desire to see how he will comport himself. Though an ancestral ghost he is quite up to date, and is not above travelling by railway. Most of the characters are well drawn. The speakers, however, have a tendency to be long winded.

There are excellent points about Miss Helen P. Redden's *M'Lellan of M'Lellan* (Bliss, Sands, and Foster). The final chapters are better than the initial, and the evolution of the plot is somewhat slow. The work has evidently been done with care. If anything the details are too minute. The characters of the men are somewhat weak and the hero is not alto-

gether a hero. The secret of who he is is well kept, and the discovery comes with a surprise. The tone of the volume is all that can be desired, and with larger studies of the ways of men and of the world the writer may do excellent work.

*By Adverse Winds* (Oliphant & Anderson), the author of which is Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, is the story of the lives and sorrows of Robert Armitage, the son of an Edinburgh Professor, and Elsie Langton, who meet by accident for the first time in the streets of Edinburgh about the hour of midnight. Armitage, while well drawn, has his good as well as his weak points. Elsie is one of the brightest characters we have met with for some time, and Mr. Smeaton may be congratulated on the way in which he portrays her. The plot, so far as we know, is original and well contrived, though some of the incidents, while not impossible nor even improbable, seem to be a little unnatural. The catastrophe occurs in the middle of the work, but only deepens the interest. Mr. Smeaton writes well, has considerable insight into human nature, uses Lowland Scotch as if it were his native tongue, and puts it into the mouths of the right individuals. Notwithstanding a plethora of 'Adverse Winds' all comes right at last. The story deserves to be a success.

Our acknowledgments are due for the following :—*Bunyan Characters*, Third Series, by the Rev. A. Whyte, D.D.; (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier); *Silver Wings*, by the Rev. A. G. Fleming (Oliphant); *Our Lord's Teaching*, by the Rev. James Robertson, D.D.; *The Religions of the World*, by the Rev. C. M. Grant, D.D.; *Landmarks in Church History*, by the Rev. Professor Cowan, 'Guild Text Book' series (A. and C. Black); *A Future Roman Empire*, by G. E. Farrier (Elliot Stock); *Saint and Devil*, by John Mark (Reeves); *The Spook Ballads*, by Wm. Theodore Parkes, illustrated (Simpkin, Marshall); *Ernest England, a Drama for the Closet*, by J. A. Parker, (Leadenhall Press); *Glossaries to S. R. Crockett's Works*, by Patrick Dudgeon (Fisher Unwin); *A Confession of Faith*, by An Unorthodox Believer (Macmillan); *Marjorie Dudingstone*, new edition, by W. F. Collier, LL.D.; (Oliphant); *My Ducats and My Daughter*, new edition, by P. H. Hunter and W. Whyte (Oliphant); *Rab Bethune's Double*, illustrated, by Edward Garrett (Oliphant); *Readings from Carlyle*, by Keith-Leask, M.A. (Blackie and Son); *Torch-Bearers of History*, volume II. From the Reformation to the Beginning of the French Revolution, by A. Hutcheson Stirling, M.A. (T. Nelson and Son); *The Gates of Eden*, Twenty-fifth Thousand, by Annie S. Swan (Oliphant).

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